

Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis:

A

COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND CURIOUS TRACTS,

RELATING TO THE

COUNTY AND CITY

OF

G L O U C E S T E R;

ILLUSTRATIVE OF, AND PUBLISHED DURING

THE CIVIL WAR;

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL REMARKS.

PART THE SECOND.

WASHBOURN AND SON, GLOUCESTER;

AND

CHARLES BALDWIN, NEWGATE-STREET, LONDON.

MDCCCXIII.

Supplement to the

LATE ATTEMPT TO REFORM THE TOWN
COLLECTION OF RESEARCH AND CURIOUS THINGS

CITY OF

COUNTY AND CITY

GLoucester

THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF GLOUCESTER
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIODS TO THE PRESENT

BY JOHN GLOUCESTER

IN TWO VOLUMES. VOL. II.

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

PART THE SECOND.

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BY JOHN GLOUCESTER

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1794

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
LATE ATTEMPT MADE UPON THE TOWN
OF
CICETER,

IN THE
COUNTY OF GLOUC',

THE
SEVENTH DAY OF JANUARY, 1642,

BY THE
LORD MARQUESSE HARTFORD,

LORD GENERAL OF THE CAVALIERS OF THE WESTERN PARTS,

ASSISTED BY

PRINCE ROBERT, PRINCE MAURICE, THE EARL OF CARNARVON,
THE LORD CHANDOIS, AND DIVERS OTHERS:

TOGETHER WITH THE
ANSWER OF JO: GEORGES, ESQ.

(AN INHABITANT THERE, AND ONE OF THE BURGESSES OF THE
PARLIAMENT FOR THE SAID TOWN),

TO THE

SEVERALL MESSAGES SENT TO THEM BY THAT

LO: GENERALL, AND PRINCE ROBERT;

AS IT WAS SENT IN A LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE, THE LORD VISCOUNT

SAY AND SEALE,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF THAT COUNTY.

PUBLISHED CHIEFLY THAT GOD MAY BE GLORIFIED, FOR THEIR HAPPY
DELIVERANCE, AND TO PREVENT ALL FALSE AND SCANDALOUS
REPORTS THEREOF.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR I. T. 1642.

(JAN: 19.)

RIGHT HONORABLE,

OUR distractions have bin so many and multiplying so fast upon us by reason of alarums from all parts almost round about us, (and more particularly by the late distempers in our neighbour county of Wiltshire, by Sir Edward Baynton's strange proceedings there, whereof (we hope) by our letter to your lordship, both houses of parliament have ere this received an exact advertisement) that wee could not with such expedition as we intended, present them with a true narrative of the late attempt made upon the town of Cicester, by a strong party of ours and their enemies, with the successe thereof, which was as followeth :

The Lord Marquesse Hartford with his Welch regiments, and Sir John Beaumont with his forces, came up to the town of Stowe le Old in this county, upon Saturday the last of December (as our intelligence informed us) and quartered there, and in the parts adjacent till Tuesday following; from whence they marched to Burford, where it seems his lordship met with but coarse and scanty entertainment for himself and his men and thereupon (as we are told by Mr. John Villiers, one of his captains of a company of dragoons, now our prisoner here) his lordship repaired presently to Oxford to the king, and there advis'd him, that unlesse his majestie might suddenly have contribution and quarter for his army in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire (which he affirm'd would never be had, till this town of Ciceter were taken) they could not long subsist. The stores of all places (where they were masters) being neer spent and exhausted; and offered with much confidence to take the town, if he might bee assisted with some horse and dragoons, whereupon as he desired, a commission was granted to him and Prince Rupert,

with two regiments of horse; and one of dragoons, and Prince Maurice with all his horse and dragoons sent to aid him.

In pursuance whereof, his lordship with his army (as some of his own reported) to the number of six thousand horse and foot marcht hither and upon Saturday the seventh of this instant month about noon, drew up his forces almost round about the town, and when they made their first stand, they made a pause for above two hours in which time they only sent scouts to view our guards, and then summoned those in the town, by a trumpet, in the name of the Marquesse Hartford lord generall of those forces to deliver up the town and their arms to his Excellence upon promise of his majestie's free pardon for all by-gone offences, with assurance of safety to their persons and estates, which if it were refused, no mercie might be expected; before the first was dispatch't, a second came in the name of Prince Rupert, with the same message in effect, adding only, that they came to vindicate and maintain the king's rights and prerogative: the answer returned to both was the same, and in substance thus: We do heartily acknowledge and professe ourselves to be his majestie's loyall and faithfull subjects, and shall be ever as ready with our lives and fortunes to maintain his just right and prerogatives as they were, or the best of his majestie's subjects; and as we are so we ought likewise to enjoy his majestie's peace and the just rights and liberties of the subjects of England, according to the laws of the land: in defence whereof, and the true protestant religion only, we stand to our arms, and are resolved, with God's assistance, to defend them with our estates and lives: this answer being returned, the enemy kept their stand on all sides, until it began to grow dark; and then it pleased God of his meer mercie so to discourage their bad resolutions and intentions, that they all retreated to their night quarters, in the villages round about the town, where they soon eat up all provision of victuall, and consumed and made great waste of hay and corn: the next morning

they only shewed themselves again to the town, and so departed without making one shot at it: the lord generall, with his Welchmen, went to Burford, Prince Maurice with his to Torrington: they took with them all the horses they could lay hands on in all places where they past, threatning a sudden return to this town with increase of force, and with as much fury and revenge, as they could send to it with the best canon they could bring, and now having made your lordship a true relation of their attempt and design against this town, which we humbly desire may likewise be imparted to both Houses, we cannot but inform your lordship, that we credibly hear, (upon Prince Rupert's return to Oxford) some of their best ordinance were mounted the next day, and great forces preparing to make a sudden onset upon this town; the losse whereof, with the men and arms now in it, (as the lord marquesse hath well observed) will at least prove the ruine of the whole county, which we shall not be able longer to defend without better assistance from the parliament forces, whereof, as yet, we have not had there above two hundred and fifty horse and foot, wherefore we hope, and humbly intreat your lordship, that by good mediation for us, his excellencie the Earl of Essex may be directed by order of both Houses to send a considerable strength of horse to remain in this countie, for defence thereof till further order, whereby you will adde much to your former honorable favour, which already obliged us to be ever

Your lordship's humble Servants.

FINIS.

they only showed themselves again to the town, and so departed without making one shot at it: the lord general, with his Welshmen, went to Burford, Prince Maurice with his to Tisbury: they took with them all the horses they could lay hands on in all places where they past, threatening a sudden return to this town with increase of force, and with as much fury and revenge, as they could send to it with the best cannon they could bring, and now having made your lordship a true relation of their attempt and design against this town, which we humbly desire may likewise be imparted to both Houses, we cannot but inform your lordship, that we cravely hear (upon Prince Rupert's return to Oxford) some of their best ordinance were mounted the next day, and great forces preparing to make a sudden onset upon this town; the loss whereof, with the men and arms now in it, as the lord marquis hath well observed) will at least prove the ruin of the whole county, which we shall not be able longer to defend without better assistance from the parliament forces, whereof, as yet, we have not had the above two hundred and fifty horse, and not, wherefore we hope, and trustly expect your lordship, that by good mediation for us, his excellency the Lord of Essex may be directed by order of both Houses to send a considerable strength of horse to remain in this county, for defence thereof till further order, whereby you will add much to your former kindness, which already obliged us to be ever

Your lordship's humble servant,

A
PARTICULAR RELATION
OF

THE ACTION BEFORE
CYRENCES

(OR
CYCESTER) IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.

TAKEN IN ON CANDLEMAS DAY, 1642,

BY

PART OF HIS MAJESTIE'S ARMY

UNDER THE CONDUCT OF

HIS HIGHNESSE PRINCE RVPERT,

PRINCE PALATINE OF THE RHINE, DUKE OF BAVARIA, &c. AND GENERALL OF
HIS MAJESTIE'S CAVALLERY IN THIS PRESENT EXPEDITION.

Written by an Eye-witnesse.

PRINTED IN THE YEARE,
1642.

PARTICULAR RELATION

OF

THE ACTION BEFORE

CYRENCESTER

(OR

CYRENCESTER) IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

TAKEN IN ON CANDLERMAS DAY, 1645.

BY

PART OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMY

UNDER THE CONDUCT OF

HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE RAPERT,

PRINCE PALATINE OF THE RHINE, DUKE OF BARBARIA, &c. AND GENERAL OF
HIS MAJESTY'S CAVALRY IN THIS PRESENT EXPEDITION.

Written by an Eye-witness.

PRINTED IN THE YEAR,

1645.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF
THE ACTION BEFORE CYRENCESTER
OR
CICESTER IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.

REBELLION, how ever it comes off, yet it ever begins with conquest. That, I mean, of the rebels over their own consciences. The designe will never advance kindly, till that beforehand be subdued to so stupid and tame a temper, as to boggle or take check at the horror of no scruples ; but to accept of whatever desperate or wild scruples. The scripture calls it witchcraft: for with such murmurs and whispers as witches use, (murmurs against the present government, and whispers of unreasonable and inconsistent hopes in the projected reformation) it becharmnes and besots their understanding. And that so universally and so deeply, as seldome can any other reason undeceive them, but the affliction of another conquest. The experience of Cyrencester, hath prov'd this observation true: who blinded and confident in the beginning of the battell saw not it's own error, till it's own flames show'd it.

So God dispos'd it, that on Saturday January 21, 1642, Prince Rupert's highnesse, with a faier part of his majestie's army, began his march from Oxford. Of horse he led along five regiments, besides his own troope of life-guards: the rest being footmen and dragooners. Fower small drakes or field-peecees were drawn

along, for securing of the march. The designe was, to relieve Colonell Hastings, besieged at his own house at Ashby de la Zouch in Leicestershire. For this purpose, the march was directed thorow Northamptonshire: but hearing, by the way, how the valiant colonell had made the Lord Gray to forsake the siege: the prince then altogether diverted his thoughts and march towards Cyrencester. His majesty was then sent unto for more forces, and some peeces of battery; and till those could be brought up, his highnesse, by easy marches, passed through Warwickshire, into Glocestershire: upon Munday, January 30, passing along by Sudlye castle belonging to the Lord Chandois. This being, the Satterday night before, possessed by some part of the rebells of Cyrencester; the prince well knowing the fortune of that castle to depend upon that towne, resolved to pursue his first purpose, and to leave the castle to come in afterwards. Therefore on Munday morning, having only sent his own regiment with Lieutenant Colonell O Neale, and a strong party of dragoons to keep watch on the Cyrencester side; at night when the grosse of the army was marcht up, the parties were all drawn off, and altogether for that night inquartered in the open fields by Halling, some two miles from the castle.

Upon Thursday morning February the second, came in more dragoons, with another regiment of horse, under Colonell Slater: as also two demi-cansons for battery, shooting eighteen pound bullet, and a mortar-piece to shoot granadoes; all these at the rendezvous short of Cyrencester, were presented unto the prince by Colonell Henry Wentworth: and the men, in the following fight, divided among the other regiments. Hereupon, his highnesse riding before to take view of the neerer part of the town, left Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford with his dragoons, to attack it on that north quarter. His seconds was my Lord of Carnarvan's regiment of horse: and within one hundred and fifty paces of the Spittle-gate, did Mounsier la Roche plant his mortar-piece.

The prince (after some shots of cannon made at him) now returning to his troopes, and prayers now ended through all the regiments, led on beyond the towne, arranging his battaglions in the Barton-field at the west end of Cyrencester. Upon which, before we fall on, it is necessary to describe the posts and works in sight, that were to be first fallen upon.

It is a town of many streets; and two thousand communicants: and (as seems) by that party, esteemed the very key of Gloucestershire on that quarter: so that much of their rest being set upon it, they had used all industry for the fortifying it: which also (for a village) was very strong in it's naturall scituation. It is more than halfe incompassed with water, a great part with a high wall; the rest by strong works secured. The gardens and backsides be divided by many low dry stone walls, as good as brest workes; and one so serving for retreats unto the other, that had the defendants courage to maintain a second, after they were put to retreat out of the first, we must have disputed every wall and garden with them. The streets were barricadoed up with chaines, harrowes, and waggons of bavins or rise-bushes. Each end of the high street, leading through the towne, was secured against horse with strong slaght-boomes, which our men call turnepikes. Two cavalliers or batteries they had, one at the south-west corner, on Mr. Poole's garden mount, and on it two iron sakers to command the field the prince drew up in, and to scowre the entrance into the towne. An other in George's backside at the south-east corner, upon Crekelade way, and on it an iron minion peece. In Sir William Masters' garden a brass saker, opposed against our mortar, and L. Colonell Lunsford's quarter. In the market place, an iron saker, and these five were all their ordnance. The sakers shot six pound ball, and the minion fower. The chief commanders, were Mr. John Fettiplace a country gentleman, colonell and governor; and Carre a Scotchman lieutenant-colonell, the man they most relied upon; and who assured them

the day before, he would keep the towne against twenty thousand men. Captain Buck (a busie mercer of Hampton-rode) had a coward's wit with him: and that morning shifted himselfe out of the towne, under pretence to fetch in more forces. The towne (as appears by the slain and prisoners) had some two thousand men in it, namely of townesmen, train-bands, and blew-coats of my Lord Stamford's regiment: halfe of which regiment were gone to Sudlye castle before; with most of their horse and dragooners.

The chief posts or works (in sight) our men were to give on upon, were Mr. Poole's mount, with the high garden wall, reaching from the lane to the mount southward. Then on the other side the lane, was Giffard's house (the Barton house) and a square high garden wall lyned with muskettiers, with other works.

Lastly, on the left hand of this by Gloucester street end, over a voyd ground, some sixe or eight score between, were two water milles, with great and many works and walls among. By this runns the river and other waters. There stood a colours. On the other side the towne and river, my lord of Carnarvan and L. Colonell Lunsford, had the spittle-gate to attack, defended by high walls and works, and houses, whose eaves were lined with musquetiers, and the brasse saker to play upon them. On George's mount, was Captain Seimor, with his companie. Thus was Cyrencester fortified: now see how (maugre all this), by God's blessing, it was taken.

The prince in the Barton-field aforesaid, drawing up his battagions, commended the right side or wing, to my Lord Wentworth, sergeant major generall of the dragooners. The left wing the prince himself took, committing the battell or middle-ward to Lieutenant Generall Wilmot. Under my Lord Wentworth, were his own dragooners, my Lord of Northampton's, Sir Edmund Duncomb's, and Lieutenant-Colonell Drurye's. These were seconded by Sir Thomas Byron, with the Prince of Wales his horse regiment. In the left wing was Colonell Usser with his own, and some four

hundred of those commanded men, that morning brought in by Colonell Henry Wentworth. He was seconded by Prince Rupert's own regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonell O Neale; and the faire and strong troop of his highnesse life-guards, commanded by Sir Richard Crane. In the battell was Colonell Lewis Kirke, with five hundred commanded men: being seconded by his highnesse Prince Maurice's regiment. The reserve was committed to Sir John Byron: who with his horse regiment was to guard the reere, and to send out scoutes and patroles, that none in time of fight might fall upon us.

The word was Queen Mary: which given, the order of the assault was thus. First were thirty musquetries drawn out of Colonell Kirk's men, for a forlorne hope: led by Lieutenant St. Johns, who performed his part bravely. These were commanded by Lieutenant Generall Wilmot, who marcht along by them, to direct them where and how to fall on. Being almost at the first hedge and close, before and betwixt Giffard's and Poole's garden walles, the lieutenant generall sent a minister back to the prince to advance the cannon, for (saies he) we are already almost in the hedge. At that hedge and the low wall beyond it, was the skirmish began: St. Johns giving faire fier, to beat the enemies out of it. There was he shot in the legge with a slug bullet, and not able to advance farther, bad his men goe on couragiously. To second these thirty, Colonell Kirke by and by sent Captain Min and sixty musquetiers more; with a lieutenant and sergeant. After this, the whole regiment came down the hill, to attack their design'd post: which was Gifford's Barton house and garden wall. This battell was led by Lieutenant Generall Wilmot: who (by all men's confession) behav'd himselfe so gallantly; with such judgement commanding, and by so much valor leading thorow the thickest of the danger; that the victory is much beholding to him. Now the rest of Kirke's regiment, under Lieutenant Colonell Layton, Serjeant Major Windebank,

Captain Wivell, Captain Gerard, Captain Radcliffe, and others, coming forwards, after some hot volleys beat the enemy from the hedge to the garden wall aforesaid. Upon which our men running under the wall, and some setting their backs close to it, flung stones over their heads into it. By this time were Colonell Usser and my Lord Wentworth come in to this work from their severall posts (as in their order we shall see) so that the enemy beaten out of the howse, works, and wall, retired, with more hast than order, thorow Cicely hill to their first turnepike; ours pursuing the retreat upon them, in blood and execution. In this service, Lieutenant Colonell Layton, Serjeant Major Windebank, Captain Radcliff, and Captain Gerard, were taken good notice of: both before the enemy's retreat, and after it. Lieutenant Colonell Layton's horse was shot thorow the neck, and Major Windebank's horse killed under him within the towne. Captain Gerard brought up a stand of pikes: and Captain Radcliff, the reere, with good courage. Other captains wonn their due honours, though I have no particular, but only generall relations of them.

Colonell Usser by the prince commanded to second Colonell Kirk, had four hundred commanded men with him, besides those of his own regiment. He drawing his pikes into a body, in the middle; flanckt them on both hands with the two divisions of musquetiers of his own regiment. The commanded musquetiers, he in severall divisions sent down for the seconding of those that were already skirmishing in the hedges. After which, with his body of pikes, and the two divisions of his own regiment, he fell on both sides of Giffard's house; which (indeed) his order was to fire. The pikes marching forwards to the lane, by turning aside a waggon of rise-bushes, cleered the avenue, and so entered; but the colonell perceiving the garden wall (within which the enemy's muskettiers stood) too high to be entred on the foreside, found a way to get into it on the back side. There were the enemies still shooting at

Colonell Kirk's men, both from the works and windowes: but diverse of them now running, some fourteen were hereabouts killed. He thus gotten to the house, with a fire-pike in his hand, both troubled their shooting from the windowes; and by and by set fire to the house, and some stacks and ricks by it. So did the souldiers to other stacks: which made the place too hote and smoaky for the enemy. This done, he thinking by turning back thorow the garden and lane to get into the towne; was hindred by the river: so that facing about to the right, he there fell into the reere of his owne right-hand division. This, (since Major Hutchinson was shot) was led by Captain Morrison, Captain Vavasor, and Sir William Neale, skout-maister generall: who being a voluntier, behaved himselfe with his sword right manfully.

By this time, Colonell Kirke's, my Lord Wentworth's, with Morrison's and Vavasor's men, being seas'd upon the turnepike that openeth into the towne: he seeing no need of helpe there, march't with his owne division up to the bridge beyond the turne-pike: where leaving a guard, he turned on the left hand thorow lanes, to come at the enemy now gathering to a head at another work. But they flying, left him their forsaken colours. Turning thence back to advertise the prince, he met his Lieutenant Colonell Washington: who then comming from his sick bed, would yet needs be one in the action: and so with a body of musketiers, advanced into the towne.

All this while, was my Lord Wentworth and his wing in as hote skirmish. His post, by order from the prince, was to have fall'n to the southward, on the right hand of Poole's mount: being, indeed, the easiest entrance into the towne. But mis-led by their guide, they fell into the close to the left hand of the mount: where they were both flanked from the battery, and faced with shot from the high wall before them. This wall the officers finding impossible to force, drew to the left hand into the lane with Colonell Kirke's

men: and entred the turn-pike together with them. For now the enemy being beaten from the side worke that guarded it, Captaine Alford, Lieutenant Wharton, with some others of Sir Ed: Duncomb's regiment, brake over the walls on both sides, and entred among the formost.

But here find I some difference, who should first breake open this turn-pike. Some say, a serjeant of Colonell Duncomb's brake off the horse-lock: others, that a souldier of Colonell Usser's filld it with powder, and blew it open. But, doubtlesse, many valiant men at once assisting, may equally share the glory of it. Some difference there also is, who first entered the turn-pike. But surely, the way being broad, so many might enter it in ranck at once; that many may be said to have first entred it. But being opened, Lieutenant Colonell Russell riding formost, cryed, the town is ours, follow, follow. Sergeant Major Compton, likewise, on foot led on bravely: both which earle's sonnes by their forwardnesse and gallant courages gained a great accesse of honour in the eyes of the prince, and the whole army.

The footemen thus ingaged, the horse regiments kept their stations at the towne's end; the prince's life-guards being by him drawn up to the very lane, and within it; even under the command of Poole's battery: which with two peeces incessantly plaid upon them. The prince in his owne person did like himselfe: being still in the fire, and hottest vollies both of small and great shott: still riding up and downe to give commands and encouragements. Now to the ordinance, to direct them: then to the foot; even to the very head of the formost. Oftimes ready to alight, and lead up the foot: yea his valiant selfe first brought up those, that first entred the turn-pike: His presence infused spirit into the souldiers. O, there's the prince (were some heard say), courage! let's on bravely. So heartily did the army confide in him; and so gladly doe they all ascribe the

glory of the day to him. My Lord Digby was neere the prince most of that day.

His highnes having notice by Colonell Innes, generall-adjutant of the foot, that the turne-pike was wonne; presently commanded a forlorne hope of five and twenty of his owne life-guards, to fall into the towne, and by skowring the streets to make way for the foot. But the time not suffering to draw them out orderly, about eight gentlemen only of the former rancks, with Colonell Scrimsour, generall adjutant of the horse, advancing formost; pursued some of the enemies thorow the street and into by-lanes: of them, the Earle of Cleveland (riding up to him) pistoled one: and another gentleman then shot another, who in his reeling, cryed Dogges, Dogges, Dogges; till the mudd stopt up both his mouth and charity. Immediately after this forlorne hope, Sir Richard Crane with the Earle of Denbigh, my Lord Taff, and his highnesse whole troop fell in; putting himselfe before the foot forces: where killing many, and driving all before him, he advanc'd into the market-place. There were some three hundred foot discovered: and, at a corner, about forty or fifty horse. These fled upon the spurre: and the foot getting into the houses, shot out at the windowes. The market-place thus cleered, and Sir Richard Crane advancing eastward up Diars' street, the enemies' cannonier (a Spaniard) came running out of the King's-head, to have fired a peece of ordinance laden with case-shot, full upon the croopes of the prince's troop. He was slain by a gentleman that rode in betwixt the Spaniard and his peece, and pistol'd him. The life-guards then passing on to another turnpike at Diars' street's end, spyed a body of two or three hundred enemies, in a green or walled close on the left hand. But the wall not suffering ours to come at them, Sir Richard Crane, (an old souldier himselfe) suspecting his enemy might have so much wit and courage yet left, as (perhaps) some neerer way to chop into the market-place, and so cut off his retreat: retired himselfe thither,

and made that good, till the foot came up. In the way he cut down diverse, that again appeared in the street: and the foot coming in, the houses were searcht; some kill'd, and the rest made prisoners. Colonell Fettiplace and Captain Warnford were now taken by Captain Alford, in the Lady Jordan's house; over which Colonell Kirk (now coming in) set a guard; and that captain to command it. Mr. George, a parliament man, was taken other where. And now was the town wholly taken on that part.

Hitherto that strong post at the water-milles on the left hand of Giffard's house, where the white and red colours stood, was not attempted: but the enemy there seeing the town taken another way, took down their colours, and retreated inwards to a bridge and chain. These were pursued thither by Serjeant Major Legg; where his Lieutenant Noland making a stand, was shot out at a window. The enemy now perceiving our horse could not passe the chaine, faced about and gave them a full volley: keeping their ground, till our foot came up and beat them from it. Then was Payne (a clothier) kill'd, with a colours in his hand. My Lord Dillon (who was to have seconded Major Legg) was by the prince commanded, to march up and make good the market-place: whither he came with his troope, whilest Sir Richard Crane was gone thence to the second turne-pike.

In the mean time, the enemy at the Spittle-gate, continued skirmishing with the Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford, and my Lord Carnarvan; but hearing the towne was taken, they flung down their armes and ranne away in company of those whom Sir Richard Crane left in the walled close: all after his retreat, escaping by the street's end behind him. These were light upon by my Lord Carnarvan: who whilest Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford forced the Spittle-gate, and Sir Charles Lucas with part of the regiment fell in by the turnpike: made down the high way without the town to the southward, and had the chase and execution of them. But 'is mercy brought

them almost all in prisoners. Perhaps too, Captain Seymor with his company fled this way: who when Sir Richard Crane scoured up Diars' street by them; forsook their guard and colours at George's battery, before ever they saw an enemy.

Now were the enemy all in flight; and ours in chase. Those that fled towards Crekelade were, by the prince's command, pursued by Sir John Byron: whose men, remembring Burford, kill'd above one hundred, and took as many prisoners. Among the rest, two ministers, one Mr. Stanfield armed back and brest, with sword and pistolls. The other Mr. Gregory of Cyrencester; who lately assured his people, that he had begged that towne of the Lord. At first entering the town, both cannoniers and musquetiers fled from Poole's battery, leaving their colours standing: which the prince sent to take downe, and to make good the place. These, his highnesse Prince Maurice pursued: and some first overtaken, were there killed: but it being enough to prostrate one's selfe to a lyon, about three hundred of them falling on heaps before the prince's feet, his mercifulnesse pleas'd it selfe in making them all prisoners. Thus were all the posts of the town taken.

Our greater firemen, 'twere injustice to forget: for the terror and fury of the cannon much eas'd the victory. On one side, the granadoes were terrible: especially after they had fired one house. At tother end, the ordinance were thus disposed. One of the demi-cannons was bent against Poole's mount and battery: and shooting thorow the parapet, forc't away the defendants. The other great peece at randome rang'd her bullets into the town: kill'd one cannonier in the market-place, and made a terrible ruffling among the houses. Of the fower lesser peeces, two were bent upon the first hedge; and two upon the corner of the wall. At first entering the towne, the prince hearing some enemies to be still in Poole's house, sent for one small peece, and two petards to force

the gate: but finding no opposition, either there or elsewhere, the ordinance all marched into the market-place.

Thus have you here related, what was acted by all the parts of the king's army, upon every part of the town. And thus was the confident Cyrencester in an hower and halfe's fight, and with the losse of lesse than twenty men, on our side, fully taken in on all parts: (though diverse of them be since dead of poyson'd bullets.) By the Munday after, but nine of ours had been buried in the church and churchyard: and some five or sixe elsewhere, which were all I heard of. Slain of theirs, those that think fewest, judge three hundred, others think more. The truth is, we could see but few men left at all in the town: plainly they hid their dead and wounded men in their houses; whereof we heard many since buried in one night: but the most falling in the fields in chase, we could get no precise notice of their numbers. Prisoners wee brought away about twelve hundred: which shoves the prince's and the cavaliers' mercy, as the captives themselves acknowledge. Of colours taken, one horse cornet, two of dragooners, and fourteen foot ensignes. Of armes, abundance were drawn out of the waters: besides those taken in the houses. All their five peeces of ordinance, we found standing in their places: among the prisoners were some one hundred and sixty wounded: whom the prince next day sent his surgeon and doctor, and chaplaines to dresse and visit. Since his highnesse comming thence, diverse concealed wounded men have crept abroad: of which some dyed.

Three things would not be forgotten. One, how the dying men in the very fight cryed out, that Sir Robert Cook, Mr. Stevens, Mr. George, and their preachers, had undone them. Whereby you see, that when God by affliction gives understanding, the justnesse of that cause cannot satisfy the conscience of the dying. The second note is, concerning the means used by that side, for getting

the poore country people to serve under them in the towne. Some of the prisoners confessed (and others have made it good) how that the gentlemen and clothiers threatned them they should have no work. Others that they should be plundered. Others were violently fetcht from their houses by dragoons, and made get up behind them. Others were dragg'd from their ploughs, and others coming into the towne about businesse, were there detained, and threatned to be shot, if they offered to get out. This is the liberty of the subject. And the third observation is concerning the subtilty used to make this poore people fight: which was by telling them, the king had none but a rabble of poore ragged fellows. But the prisoners amazed to see such numbers of gallant gentry to come upon them, their hearts sunke within them. And when they saw again how mercifull these gentry were in granting quarter to them at the first begging: they acknowledged themselves twice conquered, both by courage, and by courtesy.

For governor of the towne, the prince left his dear brother Prince Maurice his highnesse, with his regiment of horse: and under him Colonell Kirke, with one thousand foot and dragoons: who I believe, will not so cheaply part with it.

Nor was Cyrencester only conquered by this victory, but the castles of Sudlye and Berckley were, upon the fame of it, forsaken by the enemies. So were Tewksbury and the Vies. Malmsbury, likewise, the next morning sent their submission, subscribed with their chief hands: and hath received Lieutenant Colonell Lunsford for governor, with foure hundred foot: and Captain Curson's troop of horse. On the Munday after, the country gentlemen, invited by the prince's letters to Cyrencester, in the name of the county assented to a contribution of four thousand pounds a moneth: and to advance three thousand pounds presently for raising of a regiment for his majestie's service, and safeguard of the county; with

promise of doing more, when their quarters should be enlarged by the coming in of more of the county.

God be blessed for his victory. He grant the example may take such impression among the deceived people, that our Jerusalem may see, in the day of her visitation, the things that belong unto her peace.

FINIS.

A
RELATION
OF
THE TAKING
OF
C I C E T E R
IN
THE COVNTY OF GLOCESTER,
ON THURSDAY, FEBRU. 2, 1642.

BY
SEVEN THOUSAND OF THE CAVALIERS,
UNDER THE COMMAND OF
PRINCE RUPERT, PRINCE MAURICE, THE EARLES OF NOR-
THAMPTON, CARNARVON, DENBIGH, AND CLEVELAND,
THE LORD DIGBY, LORD ANDEVOUR,
LORD WENTWORTH, LORD TAFFE, LORD DILLON, LIEUTENANT
GENERALL WILMOT, SIR JOHN BYRON, COLONELL GERRARD,
COLONELL KYRKE, COLONELL DUTTON, AND
CAPTAINE LEGGE, AND DIVERS OTHERS.

SENT TO A FRIEND IN LONDON, BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT AT, AND SOME
DAYS AFTER THE TAKING OF IT.

PUBLISHED BECAUSE OF THE MANY FALSE REPORTS THAT WERE IN PRINT
CONCERNING THAT BUSINESSE.

PRINTED AT LONDON, 1642.

(FEB. 20TH.)

RELATION

THE TAKING

CICETER

THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER

ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1642.

SEVEN THOUSAND OF THE CAVALIERS

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

PRINCE RUPERT, PRINCE MAURICE, THE EARL OF NOR-
THAMPTON, CARRINGTON, DRUMMOND, AND GRYFFITH,
THE LORD HERBY, LORD ANDREWS,
LORD WESTWORTH, LORD TATLER, LORD DILLON, LIEUTENANT
GENERAL WILMOT, SIR JOHN BYRON, COLONEL GERRARD,
COLONEL RYKER, COLONEL BATTON, AND
CAPTAIN LEGGE, AND OTHERS.

SENT TO A FRIEND IN LONDON, BY ONE WHO WAS PRESENT AT, AND SOME
DAYS AFTER THE TAKING OF IT.

THESE SEVEN OF THE MAINE CAVALIERS THAT WERE IN THE
COMPANY THAT FIGHTED.

PRINTED AT LONDON, 1642.

(END OF THE)

A
RELATION

OF

THE TAKING OF CICESTER,

IN THE COUNTY OF GLOCESTER,

ON

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1642.

SIR,

I SHALL indeavour to give you a briefe and true account of the state of the miserable towne of Cicester, in the county of Gloucester, from the first troubles to the taking of it, and doe request you to acquaint those parliament men you have interest in, what we have suffered for desiring to stand and fall with them; not doubting but they will so resent our sufferings, that they will expedite such succours into our county, as may relieve Gloucester, and procure some little refreshment to the poore towne of Cicester, and our wasted county adjoyning.

Our greatest enemies from the first have been our owne countrey-men, our first troubles beganne about August last, when the Lord Chandoyes (having accepted from the parliament the charge of being lord lieutenant of our county, and betraying both his countrey and his trust) attempted to execute the commission of array, and to that purpose summoned all the gentry of our county to meete his lordship at Cicester, but what entertainment he and his array-men had there, I presume you know, having heard how the Lord

A A

Chandoys hardly escaped from being taken prisoner by the countrey that rose in armes to resist his illegall commission; and how the next morning after his escape, the furious people hewed his lordship's coach in peeces which he had left behinde him, so much they abhorred to be betraied to slavery by one of their owne countrey.

Hereupon Cicester (though the townsmen were a meanes to save the Lord Chandoys' life, who else might have beene torne in peeces by some of the intraged countrey people) was much threatned with fire and sword, and indeed so was the whole countrey for resisting the commission of array; and it was thought fit by the deputy lieutenants of our county, that a garrison should be kept in Cicester, it being alwayes feared that that towne would be first attempted in the County of Gloucester.

Thus we continued in armes, not doing or suffering much till January, only the cavaliers, when they came within twelve miles of us to Burford, were twice beaten out of their quarters there, by some parties that went out from our garrison of Cicester, we being very impatient of such bad neighbours.

On Saturday, the last of December, the Lord Marquesse Hartford, with his Welch regiments and Sir John Beaumont with his forces came up from Worcester, to the towne of Stow in our county, and on Tuesday following marched thence to Burford, where finding his entertainment scanty, his lordship presently repaired to the king at Oxford, and there advised his majesty, that unlesse he might have contribution and quarter for his army in Glocestershire and Wiltshire, (which he affirmed would never be had till the town of Cicester was taken) they could not long subsist, the stores of all places (where they were masters) being neare spent and exhausted. His lordship also, with much confidence, offered his majesty that he would take the towne, if he might be assisted with some great horse and dragoones: hereupon as he desired, a commission was granted to him and Prince Rupert with two regiments of horse, and

one of dragoones, and Prince Maurice, with all his horse and dragoones, was sent to aid him.

In pursuance whereof, his lordship with his army, (as some of their owne reported) to the number of six thousand horse and foote, upon Saturday the seventh of January, about noone, drew up his forces almost round about the towne, and where they made their first stand, they made a pause for above two houres, in which time they only sent out scouts to view our guards, and then summoned those in the towne in the name of Marquesse Hartford, lord generall of those forces, by a trumpet, to deliver up the towne and armes to his lordship, upon promise of his majestie's free pardon for all by-gone offences, with assurance of safety of their persons and estates; which if it were refused, no mercy might be expected. Before the first trumpet was dispatched, a second came in the name of Prince Rupert, with the same message in effect; adding only, that they came to vindicate and maintaine the king's rights and prerogative. The answer returned to both, was the same, and in substance this, We do heartily acknowledge and professe ourselves to be his majestie's loyall and faithfull subjects, and shall be ever as ready with our lives and fortunes to maintaine his just rights and prerogatives as they were, or the best of his majesty's subjects; and as we are so, we ought likewise to enjoy his majestie's peace, and the just rights and liberties of the subjects of England, according to the lawes of the land, in defence whereof and the true protestant religion only we stand to our armes, and are resolved with God's assistance to defend them with our estates and lives. This answer being returned; the enemy kept their stand on all sides untill it beganne to grow darke, and then it pleased God of his meere mercy so to discourage them, that they all retreated to their night quarters in the villages round about, where they did eate up all the provision of victuall, and spoiled much corne and hay. The next morning they only shewed themselves before the towne, and so departed without

making one shot at it; Prince Rupert and his troopes to Oxford, Prince Maurice to his quarters at Farrington, and Marquesse Hartford and his forces to Burford, and the villages adjoyning. While they lay before the towne, our forces tooke Master John Villiers prisoner, who was brother to the Lord Grandison, and captaine of a company of dragoones, and is still in prison at Gloucester; when they went away they tooke with them all the horses of the villages round about us, and did threaten a sudden returne with more force, and as much fury and revenge as they could send to us with the best cannon they could bring.

So we waited a fortnight for the returne of the enemy, who we heard was marched into Northamptonshire, and in the meantime our garrison was increased, and the towne better fortified on all sides, and we had foure great iron peeces sent from Bristol, besides two brasse peeces we had before from Gloucester.

On Thursday, January 26, a party from Cicester of some foure or five hundred great horse and dragoones, (who were to meete with more strength from Gloucester and Tewkesbury, marched hence to beseige Sudeley castle, fourteen miles from Cicester, because it was reported, that certainly a strong malignant party was rising in that part of Glocestershire, and it was feared that Sudeley castle (the strongest hold in those parts) would become a receptacle both of the malignants' armes and treasure.

On Friday, our forces set downe before it, and after summons assaulted it, and being reinforced from Cicester with two hundred choyse musqueteers, and one brasse peece, they tooke the castle by composition.

On Munday being the 30th day of Jan. Prince Rupert (having the week before fetched a compasse from Oxford by Northamptonshire and Warwickshire, where he plundered some townes, and tooke away all the armes and horses of the country, with which he armed and mounted all his men, except a few pikes to guard

his carriages) appeared before the castle, and most of his men lay all night on the hills. But in regard there fell that night a great snow the cavaliers rose from before Sudeley, and the next day being Tuesday, they marched towards Cicester, and quartered within seven miles of it, almost round about us. And yet this being known to our forces at Sudely castle (who were the greatest part of our strength) they tarried there (I will not say by whose neglect it was) till the towne of Cicester was utterly lost.

On Wednesday, Febru. 1st, the enemy was reinforced with some fresh troopes from Oxford, and two whole culverings, besides foure small brasse field peeces, and two mortar peeces; and so on Wednesday night some of them quartered within a mile of the towne, and gave us alarms all that night.

On Thursday morning, Febru. 2nd, they were discovered some two miles from the towne, where under a hedge they staid some two howres, till all their forces drew together into one body, from their severall quarters in the villages, and so they divided themselves; Prince Rupert, and the greatest part of the army drawing neere the towne on the west and south part: and the Earle of Carnarvon, and his troops and some other forces, on the north and north part of the town. About nine or ten of the clocke they came some of them within the command of our cannon, which plaied at them two or three howres, and often and often caused them on the west side of the towne to retreat behind a little hill, and all that while divers parties of our musqueteers went out under the shelter of hedges and wals, and skirmisht with the enemy.

About twelve a clocke, two or three regiments of foote being kept in, and forced on by the horse behinde them, beganne a furious assault on the Barton, a great farme which lay not farre from the towne westward, where they were valiantly entertained by some hundred musqueteers that lay under the garden wall.

So there continued at the Barton, a very hot fight for some two

howres, our men lying under shelter of the wall, notably giving fire at them, within lesse than musquet shot, and our cannon being little more off than musquet shot, all the while furiously playing point blanke on their whole body, which lay in an open rising field. Here the Welchmen were seene to drop downe a pace, but still the horsemen behinde them, cried, On, On, and drave them forward 'till they had gotten quite under the garden wall. But before that, the enemy had fired some barnes and ricks of corne and hay that lay quite behinde those hundred musqueteers, so that the enemy being at the wall, and breaking of it downe, and the fire so behinde them, that it tooke away all possibility of retreating if they staied any longer, and they being so few, (and yet as many as could be well spared from other guards) our men were forced out of that worke after two houres' valiant resistance of that furious charge of the enemy; during all which time, we lost but one man, who after the guard was entered, could not finde his way forth through the fire and smoake.

Our men retreating to the second worke, which was hard by, being so hotly pursued by the enemy, fire and smoake, which the wind drave directly upon them; they and the guards of that worke without any resistance made, very disorderly fled into the towne, and were furiously pursued by the enemy, who without quarter killed those they met withall or overtooke: which so desperately inraged our men, that in the market place, and from windowes they shot at the enemy almost an houre together, purposing to sell their lives and liberties as deare as they could.

Whilst the enemy was assaulting the towne on the west side at the Barton, the Earle of Carnarvon and his forces, seeing the Barton fired and our men beaten from their workes, sought to enter it on the north side, where there was a sore charge valiantly received by our men with little losse, who yeelded not, till the enemy, who had entred the town on the other side, was on their backs. Thus about

four of the clocke the towne was wholly wonne, and shooting was ended on all sides, and then they tooke prisoners, and fell to plundering that night, all the next day, and on Saturday, wherein they shewed all the barbarous insolence of a prevailing enemy, and I am confident, they (it seemes being grown more skilfull in mischief) not only acted over, but out-did their former cruelties and spoyle of Braine-ford and Marleborough; they spared not to plunder their best friends; for I can assure you, some of the notorious malignants were the most notably plundered of all the towne.

I tremble to write of their blasphemies, they tauntingly asked some godly people, where is now your God (you round head rogues?) you praied to the Lord to deliver you, and you see how he hath delivered you, ye rebels, &c.

The number that the enemy lost is altogether unknowne, by reason none durst goe forth to see the slaine. Of the town forces, both townsmen and countrey-men, there were not above twenty kill'd as can yet be learn'd. It is much feared they slew a very godly minister, who was seene taken by them, and yet cannot be heard of. There lay some of our men naked foure daies after they were killed, neare the place where the enemy after the taking of the towne kept his utmost guard, and none durst bury them.

The number of prisoners that they tooke and carried to Oxford was betwixt eleven and twelve hundred, among which there were some gentlemen of eminent estates and affections to their country. Two very godly ministers, divers commanders, and others, which were very religious and of good account.

They stript many of the prisoners, most of them of their utmost garments. They were all turned that night into the church, and though many of them were wounded and weary, yet their friends were not suffered to bring them a cup of water into the church that night, but what they thrust in at the backside of the church, having broken the windowes; and the like cruelty I heare was shewed

unto them when they lay in Witney church, in their passage to Oxford.

They tied all the prisoners, gentlemen, ministers, and all in ropes, and made them all goe a foote through the dirt in the streetes and way to Oxford, which in regard of the many horses, was up to their knees sometimes, and in this manner they used a very worthy gentleman, who had beene very lately high sheriffe of our county, an aged gentleman, of infirme health, though of an undaunted courage in this cause.

They shamefully abused the two ministers, reproachfully imitating their manner of preaching, &c.

The captaine who tooke the ministers, upon the earnest solicitation of their friends for their releasement, promised them that for fifty or sixty pounds a peece he would release them: which money being procured and paid them, he scoffingly answered, that they might well pay as much more to him for not killing them, as he might have done, and they deserved; and so after that they were more straitly imprisoned, and worse used, and one of their friends that had a free passe promised him into the towne with the money, had very much adoe to escape killing or imprisoning.

We lost five peeces of cannon, neare upon twelve hundred musquets, and other armes, fourteen colours, and some ammunition, for most of our powder and bullet was sent unto them before they entered the towne.

The value of the pillage of the towne is uncertaine, but very great, to the utter ruine of many hundred families, and besides the burning of some particular men's houses, which were purposely set on fire after the towne was wonne. The Barton farme with very much buildings in it, and all the corne, hay, and other goods and cattle of one gentleman's, which amounted to three thousand pounds and upwards, was burnt to the ground.

On Friday they went into the countrey, and tooke away all the

horses, sheepe, oxen, and other cattle of the well-affected that inhabited neare Cicester.

On Saturday, Febru. 2nd, they tooke away cloth, wooll, and yarne, besides other goods from the clothiers, about Stroudwater, to the utter undoing, not only of them and theirs, but of thousands of poore people, whose very livelihood depends on that trade.

Now Sir, before I close up all, I shall give you a hint of what I conceive, besides our sinnes, concurred with the irresistable will of God, to hasten our ruine.

1. The want of our horse, which made them confidently brave our men at their very workes, as also the want of cannoneers, which were at Sudely castle.

2. The slow raising of monies out of the countrey, which made some of our men, for lacke of pay, to depart the towne, and left many of the rest heartlesse, and our workes but thinly manned.

3. The treachery of our malignant gentry round about us, who constantly gave the enemy intelligence, and entertainment in their house, made provision for their armies, and some of them appeared in armes before their neighbour towne, which they could indure to see both fired and spoyled.

It is ordered this eighteenth day of February, 1642, by the committee of the house of commons in parliament concerning printing, that this booke, intituled a Relation of the taking of Cicester, be printed by Michael Sparke senior.

JOHN WHITE.

FINIS.

THE
P E T I T I O N
OF
THE INHABITANTS
OF
CYRENCES TER,
WHOSE NAMES ARE HEREUNTO SUBSCRIBED,
PRESENTED TO
HIS MAJESTY AT OXFORD;
WITH
HIS MAJESTIE'S ANSWER THEREUNTO.

PRINTED BY HIS MAJESTIE'S COMMAND,

AT OXFORD, FEBR. 28,

BY LEONARD LICHFIELD,

PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY, 1642.

PETITION

OF

THE INHABITANTS

OF

OXFORD

WHOSE NAMES ARE HERETO SUBSCRIBED

PRESENTED TO

HIS MAJESTY AT OXFORD

WITH

HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER THEREUNTO

PRINTED BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND

AT OXFORD

BY LEONARD LICKFIELD

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS OF CYRENCESTER.
TO THE
KING'S
MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
THE
HUMBLE PETITION OF THE INHABITANTS
OF
CYRENCESTER.

DREAD SOVERAIGNE,

WEE, your poore subjects, the inhabitants of the miserable distressed Cyrencester, having undergone all the heavy effects of your majestie's justly incensed army, doe prostrate ourselves at your majestie's feet, not to excuse, or in the least measure to extenuate our ill-deservings. We acknowledge us inexcusably faulty, but to appeale unto your mercy, and to beg your pardon. That as we have been through all your kingdomes the first example of your justly deserved rigor, and the terroure thereof working its due effect upon all others, to deterre them from provoking your like displeasure, we may remaine your most remarkable object of your mercy, the most glorious and resplendent gemme of your crowne. Oh, Sir, the God of Heaven hath given you unto us our God upon the earth. We have grievously sinned against him by our undutifull carriage against you his vicegerent. Behold us now lying before you, acknowledging and from our hearts detesting the foulness of our offence, and ourselves for committing it, and most humbly beseeching your majesty in imi-

tation of that divine virtue, the most lively character of his image in you, to pardon us, and to receive us into your protection. In the assurance whereof, we may securely returne to, and abide at our severall homes, begin to goe on in our former trades and occupations, and, by God's blessing upon us, in them many hundreds of people of our towne and adjoyning parts of the countrey, who have no other livelihood, may be againe set on worke and relieved, and we have the hope in time, upon our after care, to endeavour to expresse the sincerity of our true returne to the duties of our allegiance, to joy us in the recovery of your wonted favour, and all of us, all our lives long, and our posterity after us, bound to acknowledge the height of your mercy, to pray to Almighty God to blesse your majesty with all the happinesse which he hath promised in his Sacred Word, to all that shall shew mercy.

Andrew Sollace.

Row. Freeman.

Robert Iles.

Thomas Dutton.

William Willis

Edmund Freeman.

William Taylor.

George Stone.

Amos Dansey.

Virgill Crippes.

Thomas Gibbes.

More Gwilliam.

Edward Causton.

William Chance.

John Beaton.

Edmund Feribee.

Michael Sharp.

William Groves.

John Kerby.

Thomas Tipping.

John Petty.

James Armand.

Thomas Maysey.

Richard Matthew.

John Flacher.

Richard Sollace.

Thomas Man.

Thomas Carter.

Edward Scovell.

Richard Masters.

John Francklin.

Walter Portlocks.

Richard Evans.

James Burge.

Thomas Allen.

Samuel Spencer.

Thomas Man.

Henry Webb.

John Portlocke.

Richard Man.

John Batt.

William Burge.

Richard Aucutt.

Michael Hartred.

Edward Prat.

George Lawrence.

HIS
MAJESTIES' GRACIOUS ANSWER
TO THE
FOREGOING PETITION,

AT
THE COURT AT OXFORD, THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.

HIS majesty graciously accepts the submission of the petitioners, and is himself sorry that the rebellion and disloyalty of that place hath brought so great a measure of sufferings upon any of his subjects; which was not in his majesties' power to prevent. He is well pleased that the inhabitants of that towne of Cyrencester return safely to their houses, and live securely in them, from all violence by any of his majesties' souldiers, that the trade and wealth of that place, may (by God's blessing) be againe renewed. And his majesties' will is, and he doth hereby give precise order, that no violence or injury be henceforward offered by any of his majesties' garrison or souldiers to the petitioners, or any of the inhabitants of Cyrencester, they demeaning themselves with that duty and obedience to his majesties' just and necessary commands, as the condition of the present time, and his majesties' necessities require. And his majesties' expresse command is, that the governour of Cyrencester for the time being, and all other, his majesties' officers and souldiers of that his garrison, take order and conform themselves accordingly.

EDW. NICHOLAS.

FINIS.

THE
VICTORIOVS
AND
FORTUNATE PROCEEDINGS
OF
SIR WILLIAM WALLER AND HIS FORCES
IN
WALES,
AND
OTHER PLACES SINCE THEY LEFT
MALMSBURY.

WITH
THE TRUE MANNER OF HIS TAKING HIGHNAM AND ONE HUNDRED AND
FIFTY COMMANDERS, AND GENTLEMEN, AND ONE THOUSAND FOUR
HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR COMMON PRISONERS
WELL ARMED:

ALSO HOW HEE BEATE UP PRINCE MAURICE HIS QUARTERS, BRAKE
THOROW HIS ARMY, AND CAME SAFE TO GLOSTER, FROM WHENCE
HE SENT LIEUTENANT COLONELL MASSEY, TO TAKE TEUKSBURY,
WHICH HE HATH SINCE EFFECTED.

AS IT WAS SENT IN A LETTER FROM
SIR WILLIAM WALLER, AND SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG,
AND READ IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, APRILL 15, 1643.

DIE SABBATHI, 15 APRILIS, 1643.
ORDERED BY THE LORDS AND COMMONS ASSEMBLED IN PARLIAMENT, THAT THIS
LETTER SHALL BEE FORTHWITH PRINTED AND PUBLISHED.
JOHN BROWNE CLER. PARLIAMENTO.

LONDON:
APRILL 17. PRINTED FOR JOHN WRIGHT, IN THE OLD BAILEY, 1643.

VICTORIES

AND

NEW FORTNATE PROCEEDINGS

OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLER AND HIS FORCES

IN

WALLES

AND

OTHER PLACES SINCE THEY LEFT

MALMSBURY.

WITH

THE TRUE MANNER OF HIS TAKING GLOUCESTER AND OBERKINGHAM AND
FIFTY COMMANDERS, AND GENTLEMEN, AND ONE THOUSAND FOUR
HUNDRED AND FORTY-FOUR COMMON PRISONERS
WELL ARMED.

ALSO HOW HE BECAME UP PRINCE MARGARET HIS DAUGHTER, BECAUSE
SHE WAS HIS ARMY, AND CAME SAFE TO GLOUCESTER, FROM A PLACE
HE SEIZED HER COLONEL MARGARET TO TAKE HERSELF,
WHICH HE HATH SINCE EFFECTED.

AS IT WAS SET IN A LETTER FROM

SIR WILLIAM WALLER AND SIR ARTHUR HASLERIG
AND READ IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, APRIL 15, 1645.

THE PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN, IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED, BEING
ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, THAT THE
LETTER SHALL BE FORWARDED TO THE PRINTER, AND THAT THE
JOHN BROWN CLERK PARLIAMENT.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN WRIGHT, IN THE OLD BATTERY, 1645.

LETTER

FROM

SIR WILLIAM WALLER,

TO

BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

MY LORDS AND GENT.

WE hear it is not wel taken, that you heard not of the taking of the Welsh at Highnam, nor of the losse of Malmsbury, upon our coming to Glocester, we immediately sent; it seemes many of our letters miscary; for Malmsbury we committed it to Sir Edward Hungerford: we left him not without commanders, he had two serjeant majors, able men, and the companies of his own regiment, and a company of dragoones, with ammunition, and two hundred muskets, to put into the countrymens' hands, that offered themselves very freely: We conceived that Sir Edward Hungerford's power in the country, with that strength, would easily have defended that place: But for reasons best known to himselfe, he quitted it: It was not for us to have stood long there, nor for the advancement of your service, for us to garrison townes, unlesse it is intended we shall leave the field: from Malmsbury, marching day and night we came to Framelet ferry, and haying our boates from Glocester

readie, we passed our army over Severne, and forthwith to Huntley, and so to Highnam, where before the enemy had any notice, we fell upon their backs, and in a short time, without the losse of above two, they rendred up the place upon quarter, where we had one thousand foure hundred forty foure common prisoners well armed, commanders and gentlemen about one hundred and fifty, many of the chiefe of Wales and Herefordshire: we then marched for Wales, the Welch left their garrisons, they quitted Newnam, Rossebridge, Monmouth, Chepstow, we entred those townes, very weary of the Welch wayes over the mountaines, and sensible of their wants: And hearing Prince Maurice was neere us on the one side, and the Lord Herbert with his contracted garrisons on the other, and not being able to overtake the Lord Herbert's forces, without hazard of the rocks, we resolved for Gloucester through Prince Maurice's army: And upon Munday at night, being the tenth of this instant, having sent away our ordnance and baggage, with our foot to guard it over Wye, to Aust, and so on the farre side the river for Gloucester, wee marched from Chepstow all night, for Prince Maurice's quarters with our horses and dragoones. He quartered at Little Deane, and his forces at Newnam, Michaell Deane, and Rosse: the right time for beating up a quarter was past, before we gained Newnam: Upon the first, all arme at Newnam, away they hasted to Little Deane, there wee found their foote in a body, and their horse on a hill upon the other side of the towne, their foote came towards us, and having given one volley of shott, they retired, and our dragoones following in order entred the towne, so wee had ful possession of the prince's quarters; wee stood about three houres expecting their charge, the report being they had vowed wee should never returne.

Our designe at this time was only to make our way through their army, so leaving a forlorne hope of horse and dragoones to keepe the passage in the towne, wee marched in their sight

towards Gloucester; when they saw us gon, they came downe from the hill and fell hotly on our forlorne hope, and some few they kill'd, and some they tooke; wee conceive their losse was as great, that they lost as many men, and two of very good quality; last night wee came to Gloucester, and sent forth Lieutenant Colonell Massey for to take Tewksbury, which this morning he did: there were eight commanders, but wee missed Colonell Slater, he being gon last night to give information at Oxford, that all Sir William Waller's forces were routed: wee doubt not but you will heare strange reports, believe this, God hath bin good unto us beyond our thoughts; the taking and keeping Tewksbury is of great consequence to these parts; Prince Maurice's designe of taking us in the forrest is now spoyled; and so have we the bridge he passed over, but he makes hast, wee feare he will find another before wee can give a stop, if not, wee hope he may taste a little of Wales as well as we have done: wee writ you a letter for some arms and ammunition, wee earnestly beg they may be sent, and two hundred horsemen's swords of Kennet's making at Howslow. Wee desire your praises of God, and your prayers for

My Lords and Gentlemen,

your faithfull Servants,

William Waller,
Arthur Haslerig.

Glocester, this 12, of Aprill, 1643.

Wee are now marching towards Tewksbury

FINIS.

towards Gloucester: when they saw us go, they came down from the hill and fell back on our former hope, and some few they killed, and some they took; we conceive their loss was as great, that they lost as many men, and two of very good quality: last night we came to Gloucester, and sent forth Lieutenant Colonel Massey for to take Tewkesbury, which this morning he did: there were eight commanders, but we missed Colonel Shute, he being gone last night to give information in Oxford, that all Sir William Waller's forces were routed: we doubt not but you will hear strange reports, believe this, God hath bin good unto us beyond our thoughts: the taking and keeping Tewkesbury is of great consequence to these parts: Prince Maurice's design of taking us in the forest is now spoiled; and so have we the bridge he passed over, but he makes hast, we fear he will find another before we can give a stop, if not, we hope he may taste a little of Wales as well as we have done: we writ you a letter for some news and information, we earnestly desire they may be sent, and two hundred horse upon a score of horse, and a taking at Hounslow. We are yours

James of York, and your prayers for
The Lords and Gentlemen,
William Waller,
Arthur Haslegrave.

The Lord of April 1644
We are now marching towards Tewkesbury
FINIS

A

TRUE RELATION

OF THE

LATE FIGHT

BETWEENE

SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S FORCES,

AND

THOSE SENT FROM OXFORD.

WITH THE MANNER OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S RETREAT TO BRISTOLL,

AND

THE CONDITION OF HIS ARMY AT THIS PRESENT.

SENT FROM A COLONELL IN THAT ARMY NOW IN BRISTOLL, TO A
FRIEND OF HIS IN LONDON.

PUBLISHED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON,

PRINTED BY G. DEXTER, FOR R. DUNSCUM, 1643.

A
THE
TRUE REELATION

OF THE

LATE FIGHT

BETWEEN

SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S FORCES,

AND

THOSE SENT FROM OXFORD,

WITH THE MANNER OF

SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S RETREAT TO BRISTOL,

AND

THE CONDITION OF HIS ARMY AT THIS PRESENT.

SENT FROM A COLONEL IN THAT ARMY NOW IN BRISTOL, TO A
FRIEND OF HIS IN LONDON.

REPRINTED ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON,

PRINTED BY G. DEXTER, FOR A. DUNCAN, 1643.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF
THE LATE FIGHT
BETWEEN
SIR WILLIAM WALLER'S FORCES
AND THOSE SENT FROM
OXFORD.

SIR, I received yours of the 11th instant, to which I gave present
answere.

For newes with us, it hath the face of bad : but for my owne part,
I see a very great deliverance in it, and God's immediate hand in
saving this army.

I shall give you a briefe accompt of the progresse and successe
thereof since the last defeat given Sir Ralph Hopton on Lands-
downe, which is thus :

Friday the enemy lay in Marshfield, we lay that night in the field,
within two miles of him.

Saturday he marched to Chipenham, we followed and kept the
field.

Sunday he retreated to the Devises, we pursued and fought with
him, and kill'd many of his horse, and especially foot : but it being
late we durst not enter the towne, but still kept the field in a green
neere Roode.

The next morning, being Monday, wee drew up to Bagnall hill
with our whole body : That night wee sent out many parties, and

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drew down to Runway; we brought in many prisoners, beat the Lord of Craford, took eight colours, and some officers.

Next night we had intelligence of a great party comming with amunition, which we tooke, being six cart loads: but the enemy running away in due time, we had but few prisoners.

That night Prince Maurice and the Marquesse, with most of their horse, stole away for Oxford; we did light on their reare with a small party, and took seventeen or eighteen prisoners.

Tuesday morning we fell upon the town, which they well defended: In the afternoone desired a parle, and two houres' cessation, which on good reason was granted them: but they not conforming to our demands, we fell on again that night, though coldly.

The next day, Wednesday, we continued our assault, beat them from all their out works and guards: but that day and night being extreame wet, hindred us much.

Thursday night we had resolved on a generall assault: but this resolution was scarce taken, but newes came that the enemy from Oxford was within two miles, with two thousand horse, which made us draw up to Bagnall hill, without drum or trumpet, where we found the enemy in sight, marching towards us; we long'd to charge them with our horse, which we did with some disadvantage, and were put to a retreat disorderly: But rallied againe with the helpe of our reserve. The enemy came on, and we charged them the second time, and then all our horse were routed, their reserve standing firme. Wee fled; they followed, yet our foot, being scarce considerable, stood one houre and an halfe, and forced their horse to retreat divers times: but their foot comming up from the Devises, made ours leave their armes and flye. We have lost only fifty horse, and at the most two hundred common souldiers slaine, and taken prisoners; about five hundred armes. No man of note killed or hurt, only Sir Arthur Haslerigge who received a wound in his arme, and an hurt in his eare, but not dangerous: he fought very

bravely. We know we killed many of their best men, but not known to us by name, because we lost the field: We retreated all to this city, and hope to make good Bath also.

As this was a great losse to us, so likely to all the west, unlesse the lord generall sodenly help; however, we acknowledge God's over ruling power in our great deliverance; the enemy having six regiments of horse, and seven hundred dragoons, that never presented themselves in our view, but lay in ambush, as divers report, who saw them and have since broke through their army, and are returned to us. The same also is confest by Major Byron, whom we took prisoner.

FINIS.

A

BRIEFE AND EXACT RELATION

OF THE

MOST MATERIALL AND REMARKEABLE PASSAGES THAT HAPNED
IN THE LATE WELL-FORMED (AND AS VALIENTLY
DEFENDED) SEIGE LAID BEFORE

THE CITY OF

G L O C E S T E R.

COLLECTED BY

JOHN DORNEY, ESQUIRE,

TOWN-CLARKE OF THE SAID CITY,

WHO WAS THERE RESIDENT THE WHOLE SIEGE, AND APPLIED HIMSELFE
WHOLY TO THIS BUSINESSE.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY, AND ENTRED INTO THE STATIONERS HALL-BOOKE
ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR TOMAS VNDERHILL AT THE SIGNE OF THE BIBLE
IN WOOD-STREETE, M.DC.XLIII.

A

BRIEFE AND EXACT DIURNALL,

CONTAINING THE

MOST MATERIALL AND REMARKEABLE PASSAGES THAT HAP-
PENED IN THE LATE WELL FORMED SIEGE LAID BEFORE

THE CITY OF

G L O U C E S T E R.

AFTER the unexpected surrender of Bristoll, the city of Gloucester was assaulted with severall letters, messages, and such verball solicitations, by divers in the king's army of no meane quality, thereby pretending our good, and expressions of their love and care of us, but really intending their own sinister ends and our destruction. Amongst the rest, there came a letter on Friday, August 4, dated August 3, from a captaine of a troope of horse in the king's army, to Mr. Alderman Pury, one of the Burgesses of the parliament for this city, full of perswasive oratory for the yeelding up of this city, with great promises as heretofore of preferment, and braggs of the greatnesse of the army that was then on their march coming against us, viz. All Prince Rupert's forces from Bristoll, with addition of fifteen hundred armed Welch, and two thousand club-men out of Wales, and armes sufficient to arme them from Bristoll, eight hundred foote with a regiment of horse from Worcester, and five thousand foote with a brigado of horse of the queene's forces from Oxford, and if he would send an answer, it must be by the Sunday-night following or not at all: But Mr. Alderman Pury, (whose fide-

lity is sufficiently known to be so firme to the parliament, that it is not to be shaken by promises or threats) thinking it not worthy of, so accordingly sent no answer.

Saturday, August 5. We received intelligence, that about two thousand horse from Bristoll were advanced within ten miles of this city, whereupon severall messengers were dispatched to the parliament.

Sunday, August 6. Generall Garret faced this city with his brigado of horse in Tredworth-Field, and sent a trumpeter to the governour for four horses of his formerly taken by a party of ours in Cotswold, for which he offered others in exchange for them, or any other satisfaction. In the after-noone, a small party of horse and foote commanded by Captaine Blunt, and assisted by Lieutenant Colonell Matthewes, Captaine White, Captaine Pury the younger, and Captaine Lieutenant Marcus issued forth of the North-gate, and at Wotton tooke about ten prisoners, and sending home the foote, the said captaines with the few horse they had, went along to Upton, St. Leonards, and thence to the foote of Painswickes-hill, on the top of which they discovered a party of the enemies' horse, and so going round about by Matson, they retreated without the losse or hurt of any. This day we wrought hard in the amending and repairing of our bulwarkes.

Munday, August 7. Newes came to Captaine Pury the younger to Gloucester, That the enemy was plundering at Tuffleigh, about a mile and halfe from Gloucester, newly assigned for his quarters for the billeting of his souldiers, who thereupon acquainted captaine Evans therewith, resolving to take what men of theirs they could on the suddaine get to surprize the enemy; But being come thither, assisted with Lieutenant Pierce, they understood that they were gone away with their plunder to Mr. Wood's house at Brockthorpe, about a mile and a halfe further: They thereupon (having not above forty foote, and some few of Captaine Backhouse's

horse) left some few foote to secure their retreat, and with the rest marched forward to meete with the enemy, skirmished with them, compelled them to take refuge in the house, killed one in the orchard, and hurt or killed others in the house, and tooke one prisoner, and seven horses: But perceiving a party of horse, that looked on on the hill all the while, to make towards them, they were forced to retreat without any losse, only one through his own indiscretion taken prisoner. As they were just at the Towne's-end, they met with the governour and a party of musketteers coming to their rescue, newes being brought to towne that they were in danger of being cut off.

Tuesday, August 8. We understood that the king with all the foote from Bristoll, and carriages, were come to Berkeley, and that they intended to speed their march towards us.

Wednesday, August 9. We had intelligence that provision was made for the entertainment of his majesty at Princknedge, in the Lady Bridgeman's house, about three miles off the city, and that the foote and carriages would be there that night: we likewise received intelligence, that the Lord Chando's that day dined at Brockworth, at the Lady Guise's there, whereupon a party went out of the North-gate towards Barnewood, skirmished with the enemy, and did some execution upon them, and amongst the rest a little boy of Captaine Nelme's company, having shot away all his bullets, charged his musket with a pebble stone, and killed a commander therewith; we retreated without any losse at all.

Thursday, August 10. His majesty with about six thousand horse and foote as we conceived, the Welch and Worcester forces coming after, faced us in Tredworth field, at the foote of Robin-hood's-hill, about a quarter of a mile off the towne; and about two thousand horse more faced us in Walham, within canon-shot at randome of our workes. Towards the afternoone his majesty sent

a message by two heraulds at armes, whereof the one being Somerset herald, read the message at the Tolsey as followeth:—

“ Out of our tender compassion to our City of Glocester, and that it may not receive prejudice by our army, which we cannot prevent, if we be compelled to assault it; we are personally come before it to require the same, and are graciously pleased to let all the inhabitants of and all other persons within that city, as well souldiers as others, know that if they shall immediately submit themselves and deliver this city to us, we are contented freely and absolutely to pardon every one of them, without exception; And doe assure them in the word of a king, that they nor any of them shall receive the least damage or prejudice by our army in their persons or estates: but that we will appoint such a governour and a moderate garison to reside there, as shall be both for the ease and security of that city, and that whole county. But if they shall neglect this offer of grace and favour, and compell us by the power of our army to reduce that place (which by the helpe of God, we doubt not, we shall easily and shortly be able to doe) they must thanke themselves for all the calamities and miseries that must befall them. To this message we expect a cleere and positive answer within two houres after the publishing hereof, and by these presents doe give leave to any persons, safely to repaire to and retorne from us, whom that city shall desire to imploy unto us in that businesse. And doe require all the officers and souldiers of our army quietly to suffer them to passe accordingly.”

The herald mentioned the publishing of this message openly in the streete, but his majesty by his message not requiring the same, the governour would no wayes permit it. But the heralds being withdrawne, after some debate in satisfying Mr. Major's scruples touching his oath of majoralty, an answer was drawne, and unanimously agreed unto both by citizens and souldiers in these words following:—

“ We the inhabitants, magistrates, officers and souldiers within this garrison of Gloucester, unto his majestie’s gracious message, returne this humble answer. That we doe keepe this city according to our oathes and allegiance, to and for the use of his majesty and his royall posterity, and doe accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament, and are resolved by God’s helpe to keepe this city accordingly.”

This answer was immediately sent to his majesty, (who was by that time come to Tredworth-field, attended by Prince Charles, the Duke of Yorke, Prince Rupert, Lord Generall Ruthen, &c,) by Serjeant Major Pudsey, and a citizen who accordingly presented the same and so returned. Thereupon his majestie’s forces advanced forward into our suburbs, chiefly on the east-part into Barton-streete, where we killed a commander from the east-gate: But the houses proved too hot for such inhabitants, for we had after the returne of our messengers, fired all our suburbs on the north, east and south parts, as being those that could and would have done us most harme: yet one Issold’s house in Barton-streete (by reason of a garden betwixt that and the next above) tooke not fire, so that the enemy played from thence with musket-shot against us, till we by five or six canon shot from the walles, forced them to quit that place. Our canon likewise from the pen upon the west-gate, discharged upon the body of horse in Walham, and doing some small execution there, made them goe seeke better quarters. Our women and maides wrought all this after-noone in the little meade out of our workes in the very faces of those horses, in fetching in turfe for the repairing of our workes: we were forced now through want of men for the guarding of the city itselfe (we being not above fourteen hundred at most) to quit our out-guards of the Wine-yard, and the two sconces we had formerly made at each corner of the Isle of Alney for the securing thereof and the river of Seaverne.

Friday, August 11th. Upon breake of day we discovered that the enemy had the night before begun their entrenchments in Gawdy-Greene, on the south part of the city, and about Issold's house on the east part, both within lesse than musket-shot of our walles. They had likewise cut the pipes that conveyed our water from Robinhood's-hill to our conduits, and diverted the course of water that drove our corne-mills, so that we were forced to content ourselves with pumpe and Seaverne water, and to grind our corne with horse-mills. Their pioneers plied their workes in their trenches, the musketteeres on both sides playing hard, we lost only a boy and a girle through their indiscretion gazing over the walles. The Welsh forces under Sir William Vavasor advanced to the Wine-yard, where after two houres' solemnity, they with great valour tooke it, no body being there to make a shot against them. Yet upon their entry of the outward worke, when they saw another within, they according to their knowne prowesse, immediately ran out, yet taking heart againe, they at last, to their eternall glory, tooke it. Upon their drawing up on the side of the hill, our demeculverin discharged from the pen fell amongst them and did good execution; we discovered them through our prospectives carrying away their dead or maimed, and afterwards divers gazing where the bullet grazed that durst adventure so farre to kill her nowne cozens and countrymen. Among this crew, had that treacherous Adams, once a lieutenant colonell under Sir William Waller, placed himselfe. They about two dayes afterwards leaving a sufficient guard at the Wine yard and the sconse by Maysemore, made a bridge of boats there, and joyned with the forces that had now newly come from Worcester and quartered on the north west side of the city, at Longford and the Kingsholme, where they made their leagure in two fields there about, lesse than halfe a mile off us. The Lord Generall Ruthen had placed his leagure at some grounds behind Lanthony, within a quarter of a mile of the towne, it being some-

what sheltered from our shot by a rising ground that lay betweene, yet our shot hapned sometime amongst them and did some execution. There their lord generall pitched his tent, and Sir Jacob Ashley quartered at Mr. Wood's house in Barton-streete: Captaine Lieutenant Marcus, assisted by Colonell Stevens' ensigne, at midnight issued forth of the south port, with a small party, beat the enemy from their trenches, and brought away many of their shovels and pickaxes. The same night the enemy making an approach in Barton-street, our canon from the east-gate killed six of them, whereof one was a lieutenant colonell, and another a captaine of the queene's black regiment under Colonell Blackwell, Sir Jacob Ashley was then shot in the arme. The enemy likewise advancing somewhat from Lanthony toward the Barbican, our guards there fired upon them and killed and wounded many of them, as we have received information by divers confessions.

August 12, Saterdag. In the forenoon a party commanded by Captaine Leivetenant Marcus sallied forth through a door we made for that purpose in a brick-house adjoyning to the towne wall on the south east part over against Rignall stile (making a bridge of ladders over the moat) and fell into the enemies trenches in Gawdy Green, beat them out, gained some working tooles, arms and prisoners, and retreated without losse of any, onely two wounded. This was a hot skirmish for the space of halfe an houre. In the afternoon a party of about one hundred and fifty musketteers commanded by Captain Gray sallied forth over the works at the little mead, and fell upon the enemies quarters at the Kingsholme, marched up to their main-guard, there killed Captain Rumney, and about eight or nine common souldiers, took five prisoners, and divers armes, burnt their main-guard, and houses they quartered in, and retreated without the losse of any. These were the Worcester forces with whom the Welsh had not yet joyned. The same afternoon after our retreat the enemy had planted two great culverins of between fifteen and

sixteen pound bullet at the east side out of musket shot point blanke, with which they made some store of shot, intending to batter the town-wall, but did no harm, although many fell into the town. They then likewise began the making of a redoubt in a field neer Lanthony towards Severn, making a breast-work from it to Lanthony wall crosse the causey. And we perceiving by their canon baskets they placed in their square redoubt in Gawdy Green that they intended a battery there, began the lining of our towne wall from the south to the east gate, which we shortly after perfected; That night the enemy shot severall great granadoes out of their mortar pieces, they all brake, but did no harme; we have since received intelligence from some that were the whole leaguer in the king's army, that their biggest mortar-piece brake at the first discharging of it, they say the biggest in England.

Sunday, August 13. The enemy having planted three pieces of ordnance on their battery at Gawdy Green of fifteen and twenty-three pound bullet weight, began to batter the wall and brick-house over against Rignall stile, killed one of our men (no souldier) in the said brick-house, as he was peeping there, but did no other harm. This day we began the blocking up of the south port, making a damme of earth against the draw bridge, and a breast-work canon prooffe against the wall reaching from the draw bridge to the gate, and lining the houses on each side, and the almes-house between the gate and draw-bridge with earth.

Munday, August 14. We had some suspition and kind of intelligence that they were drawing ordnance to the Kingshome; and that it lay in some grounds undiscovered between the north gate and the Margarets; wherupon a party of about one hundred and fifty musketteers commanded by Captaine Mallery sallied forth of the north port to surprize it, but not finding any, retreated without losse, but killed four of the enemies, and took two prisoners, and fired some of their quarters at the Margarets. This day the enemy

played with their ordnance from Gawdy Green, and battered the town wall on the south-side of the Fryer's orchard, but we quickly made up the breach with wool-sackes and canon baskets. By this time they had drawne their trench in Gawdy Greene neer the moat at Rignall stile, where they made a kind of mine to drain the moat, which much sunk the water of the moat between the south and east ports.

Tuesday, 15 August. The enemy removed their tents and carriages to their leaguer neer Lanthony. And in the afternoon valiant James Marcus, captain lievetenant to the Earl of Stamford was slaine in the Fryar's orchard, as he was too venterously looking what execution a granado had done, which he then threw into the enemies trenches.

Wednesday, 16 August. About one hundred and fifty musketeers commanded by Captain Crispe sallied forth at the north port, and fell upon the enemies trenches upon the east side of the Friar's orchard, killed above one hundred men (as is confessed by some of the enemies themselves) wounded many, beat them out of their trenches, took some spades, shovels, and arms, and retreated without the losse of any, only two wounded after an exceeding hot skirmish for the space of halfe an hour or more, the canon and muskets on both sides playing most furiously. Amongst others a serjeant and corporall of Captaine Nelme's company were observed to behave themselves very bravely. The enemy began this day to intrench between Barton street and the Fryar's barne, within musket shot of the wals. And we imployed some time in lining of the house adjoyning to the north gate with earth, and in amending and strengthening the works about the Fryar's barne.

Thursday, 17 August. The enemy shot divers granadoes out of their battery in Gawdy Green into the towne; whereof about four fell upon some houses and brake into them, but (by God's providence) did no harme, and one fell into the street neer the south

gate, but a woman coming by with a payle of water, threw the water thereon, and extinguished the phuse thereof, so that it did not break, but was taken up whole: it weighed sixty pound weight. This night the enemy made divers alarmes about the city, and our ordnance and muskettiers plaid hard against them. They then likewise brought fagots and the like to the moate by the Fryar's orchard, but were beaten off by our musketteers from the wals. This day a printed paper conteyning the king's message and our answer thereunto was sent out of the king's army, unto M. Alderman Pury, with a perswasive letter for the surrendring up of the citie, the close of which printed paper runs thus, "Let the world now judge if his majestie could have sent a more gracious message to his most loyall subjects, and whether these desperate rebels deserve any mercy, who after so many offers do still refuse a pardon: but since their returning this rebellious answer they have set their own suburbs on fire; which surely is not to keep the city either for king or parliament. Printed at Oxford, &c." At the same time there was also sent unto him certain specious considerations and reasons subtilly composed, tending to satisfie conscience in the delivering up of the citie notwithstanding the late oath and protestation, wherewithall the said Captain Pury being not convinced, did not divulge the same till after the siege was raised.

Friday, 18 August. The enemy played with their ordnance at Gawdy Green upon the wall on the south side of the Fryar's orchard, but did small hurt thereunto. They having likewise (after the conjunction of the Welsh with the Worcester forces) drawn four pieces of ordnance to the Kingsholme, one whereof they planted against the Awnyate, and the sconces thereunto adjoyning. A partie of about four hundred muskettiers commanded by Major Pudsey, and Captain Gray assisted by Captain Faulkner, and Captain Massie, sallied forth of the north gate, being led by one Weaver, a stout fellow of Captain Pury the younger's company as their guide, and

having sent Lieutenant Pincocke with about fifty musketteers over the workes at the little meade to give them an alarme, who advancing up to their canon (that made but one shot against them,) in the mean while they got behind their canon and brestwork there, and fell upon their maine-guard, killed divers of their officers, and two canoneers, with about one hundred common souldiers mortally wounded, Captain Basset with divers others, took Lieutenant Tipper and about four others prisoners, nailed their canon and retreated without other losse than two killed, and about four taken prisoners.

Saturday, August 19. The enemy having planted three peeces of ordinance at Gawdy Greene as afore-said, and now three more on the east side of the Fryar's orchard neare Rignall stile, within lesse than pistoll-shot of the town-wall, and two more in another battery neare the east-gate. They began a most furious battery upon both sides of the corner of the wall next Rignall stile, making above one hundred and fifty great shot thereupon, wherewith they shrewdly battered the wall, but our earth-workes stood firme; by all this shot there was only a man and a maide hurt, and a canon-bullet, its force being almost spent, running along the ground struck down a pigge, which our souldiers eat, and afterwards well jeered the enemy therewith. Upon this battery of the wall we began a brestwork from the wall on the south side of the Fryar's orchard all along the middle of the said orchard, and so making up all passages into the towne betweene that and the east-gate. This day (as hath beene confessed by some of the king's army) we killed three of their principall canoneers. This day and the night following the enemy shot divers granadoes into the town, whereof one fell in at the top of M. Hathwaye's house into his chamber over his kitchen, and thence obliquely descending through the end of the chamber took that with it, and brake in his court. One piece fell in the kitchen chimney, where three women were sitting by the fire, but by God's blessing hurt neither of them. The rest did no other hurt

than to houses, and that not much neither. We expected that the enemy would have fallen on this night, whereupon we beat up an alarme with our drummes round about the city. The enemy attempted to make a passage over the moat at the place they had battered, but being descried by our sentinels, they were beaten off with some losse by our musketteers.

Sunday, 20 August. This morning that rogue Hatton, one of our canoneers, ran away to the enemy. The enemy followed hard their trench-work, and carrying of fagots. And some of ours, whilst other went to church, as at other times, to implore divine assistance, wrought likewise at our works within the city.

Munday, August 21. Two severall parties were designed for the nailing of the enemy's canon. The one being about two hundred musketteers, commanded by Captaine Stevenson, and assisted by Captaine Moore, sallied forth at the north gate to have fallen upon their trenches at the east gate, but their guide foolishly mistaking the way, brought them round about to S. Jacob Ashleye's quarters at the Barton, whereabout forty muskettiers encountred with five colours of the enemy, and having slaine divers of them, and taken Lievetenant Anderson, and Lievetenant Trappes, prisoners, forced them to a retreat, then marching through the Barton court, they faced and fired at eight colours more, and so retreated. In the retreat two troops of the enemy's horse came upon the reere, but ensigne Matthewes facing about, charged them, and forcing them to retyre, made good our retreat. In this skirmish were two killed, three hurt, and a serjeant of Captain Nelmes taken prisoner; this party was all of Colonell Stephens' regiment, and some few of Colonell Devereux' men. The other was of the Lord Stamford's regiment commanded by Captain Blunt assisted by Captain William White, who sallied forth by boat down Severne, and marched up to the enemy's quarters at Severne street, beat the enemy out of their redoubt there, (our canon the mean while playing from the Barbi-

can upon the houses there) killed Serjeant Major Wels, captain of the watch, and some common souldiers, took one prisoner, and advanced up to the turnepike at the upper end of Severn street. But the designe failing through the misguidance of the other party, they were called off, and by the help of our ordnance from the Barbican made a fair retreat without losse of any, only two wounded.

Wednesday, August 23. About fifteen musketeers sallied out of the north gate and gave the enemies an alarme and so retreated. This day the enemy received supply of provision and ammunition by water from Bristoll. We employed ourselves in lyming the Fryar's barne on the outside with earth for the preservation of our canon there, and in strengthening of our brestworks there, conceiving the enemy had intended a battery against it. In the evening, the enemy shot some few granadoes into the town, which did no harme. And about nine of the clock at night two of ours out of a company (all the other sallies being in like manner commanded men out of both regiments) sallied out of the north-gate, and giving the enemy an allarme, retreated. The enemy thereupon after our retreat spent good store of powder and shot against the wind.

Thursday, August 24. This day there was a conference with Mr. Bell of Sanct-hurst, and Mr. Hill of Tewxbury within the draw-bridge at the north gate, upon their desire thereof by a letter sent that morning, intimating thereby that they had something to impart unto us for our good by word of mouth, which could not be done by letter or otherwise. The effect of their speech was to perswade the yeelding up of the citie in regard of the great power and terrible threats of the enemy, and small hopes, and in a manner impossibility of relief, withall adding the heavy burthens under which the countrey groaned, which they said were likely to prove heavier if we yeelded not. To this speech they received a resolute negative answer, and so departed. The enemy made divers shot this day

with two piece of ordnance they had newly planted at Lanthony, but did little hurt, killed none. One bullet of about twenty pound weight came through a chamber of the inne called the Crown, carried a boulster before it into the window, and there slept in it. This night came the only rain that happened during the whole siege, which much annoyed the enemy in their trenches. This night we discovered a fire upon Wain-loade's hill, which gave us some encouragement, because we had appointed a man we had formerly sent out, if he heard of any relief, and could not come to tell us thereof, to make a fire there, which he now did accordingly. But the enemy not willing the countrey should take notice of it, or their souldiers be discouraged thereby, endeavoured to perswade them, it was their stratageme purposely made to deceive us, and to draw us out upon some ambuscadoes they pretended to have layd.

Fryday, August 25. Some few musketteers of ours this morning sallied forth of the north port, and gave the enemy an alarm, who through the suddennesse of the alarm, and hurly burly thereupon, had a barrell of powder blowne up. In the afternoone their ordnance playd from Gawdie-Greene, and they likewise from thence shot many granadoes, two fell into the south-gate-streete, whereof one mortally wounded a woman, but did no other harme; some others fell upon severall houses in the citie, and shrewdly battered them, but did no other hurt; one fell downe upon the enemies workes. They shot likewise great fire-balls, which did no harme. They also shot great stones out of their mortar-pieces, which did little hurt, and killed none. In the evening and night following, they shot from their battery, at Lanthony, above twenty fiery melting hot iron bullets, some eighteen pound, others twenty-two pound waight; in the night wee perceived them flying in the ayre like a starre shooting, most of them fell into houses and stables where hay was, but by God's great providence did no hurt at all. One came through three houses, and fell into a

chamber of Mr. Comelin's the apothecary, and being perceived, many payles of water were cast upon it to quench the same, but that little avayling, it was cast into a cowle of water, where after a good space it cooled. This night (it being suspected that false rumours of our being taken might be spread abroad to hinder our reliefe) it was ordered that some lights should be set up on the colledge-tower, to give notice abroad of our holding out, the performance whereof was committed to the care of Captain Pury junior, who performed it accordingly. The enemy vexed thereat levelled some shot at the tower, one whereof came close by the said Captain Pury, as he was looking towards Lanthony, whence their fiery bullets came, who for all that continued the burning of his linkes till the moone was fully risen.

Saturday, August 26. The enemy wrought hard in filling up the moate (at the place they had battered) with fagotts and earth, making a gallery over the head of their trench, to save themselves from our shot: at night they made some shot from their battery at Gawdy-Greene, upon the town wall, on the southside of the Fryar's orchard, but did no harm, only two or three hurt a little by the flying of the stones of the wall. Divers times during this siege some of our men would go forth over the works, and fetch hay out of Walham, which to prevent, the enemy this day, as often before, set some of the cockes on fire, which some by reason of our shot, I beleeeve, dearely repented.

Sunday August 27. The enemy wrought hard in casting earth into the moate, and making divers trenches elsewhere. They also this day made about twenty great shot upon the house over the east-gate.

Munday, August 28. Wee conceived that the enemy had sunke a mine under the east gate, whereupon we began to countermine in two severall places there, but finding springs we left off, conceiving the enemy would be forced to doe the like for the same reason.

Tuesday, August 29. We began to undermine on the east side of the Fryar's orchard, to make a place to put forth a piece of ordnance at the bottome of the wall, to batter the flanke of the enemies gallery, there we likewise made some great shot upon the enemies trenches at the east gate from the Fryar's barn. This night two intelligencers we had sent forth on Saturday night last, returned from Warwicke with newes of speedy reliefe from his Excellency and Sir William Waller.

Wednesday, August 30. Being the publique fast day, there were two sermons preached at St. Nicholas, without any disturbance, only a musket bullet fell into the church, but did no harme. This day we turned out our cattle to graze in the little meade, and so continued them afterwards, guarded by some muskettiers, taking them in at night: wee made a bridge of ladders, and thereby put them in over the workes. This day and the day before, the enemy shot out of their canon long loggetts of wood, which did no harme.

Thursday, August 31. We againe turned out most of our cattle into the little meade, guarded by some few muskettiers, the enemy fretting thereat, sent out some horse and straggling muskettiers, upon whom wee did some small execution; wee should have done more, durst the enemy have adventured against us, but they kept themselves still almost musket shot at randome of us: at the Barbican three of the company of Sergeant Major Ferrer (major of the towne, who for his indefatigable paines, and extraordinary care and faithfulness to us, hath exceedingly deserved of us and the whole kingdome) crept along Seavern-Bank, and gave the enemy an alarm, holding them play almost an houre: upon the alarm about an hundred of the enemies had gathered themselves under a wall at Lanthony, upon whom wee discharged a demi-culvering, shot from the Barbican, which lighted in the midst of them, made the stones of the wall fly about their eares, and could not but doe good execution.

Fryday, September 1. About three a clock in the morning, a

sergeant and foure more of Captain White's company, with one John Barnewood, of Captain Pury the elder's company (who went forth in all the other sallies with granadoes) crept forth of a hole made in the dungeon at the east-gate, and came very softly to the mouth of the enemie's mine there. The said Barnewood after he had taken aside the board that covered it, and a pretty while viewed them, fired and cast a granadoe in amongst them, our foure muskettiers playing at them as they ran out of it, and so retreated without harme. Wee killed foure and hurt others. This put the enemy into a great fright, they crying nothing but arme, arme, for a good while after.

Saturday, September 2. Our mine in the Fryar's orchard was early this morning perfected, and a sacre placed there. Five out of a company were drawne out upon the walles, and some granadoes provided ready. About eight a clock in the morning we playd thence with our great gunne upon their gallery, our muskettiers sending plenty of shot into their trenches and cast divers granadoes thereinto. The enemy played with their ordnance upon the top of our wall, with which hitting one of our blinds, they killed one of our men, as he was discharging his musket against them. They played likewise with their canon in Gawdy-Greene upon the south gate to little purpose. Wee battered their gallery with our bolt shot, but towards the evening the enemy had sunke a piece against the port-hole of our mine, so that we were forced to withdraw our sacre thence. About night they shot some granadoes into the towne, whereof one fell upon a stable in the Eastgate-street, neer whereunto stood many horses, but hurt none of them. Our men skirmished this day with some stragglings in Walham, where they killed a corporall that refused quarter. We discovered that the enemy, for all the springs, went on with their mine at the east gate, whereupon wee renewed our countermine there. The Welshmen at the Wineyard had likewise now at last gotten the heart to

advance as far as the Towne Ham, where placing themselves in a ditch, they played upon our maides and workmen that were fetching turffes out of the little meade, but our great gunne at the peeke speaking some harsh language to them, frightened them away, be-reaving some of their owne native language.

Sunday, September 3. In the forenoone the congregation assembled at the church to performe holy duties, but the minister being informed of our great danger conceived at the east-gate, the enemy having planted store of canon-baskets there, within lesse than halfe musket-shot, intending a battery there, as we conceived, upon the springing of their mine, dismissed the congregation without any sermon. Whereupon we began the lining of the houses over the east-gate, and the making of a very strong brest worke crosse the eastgate-streete, with a large trench before it, filled by some springs there, intending to raise it up to the eaves of the houses, and to plant some canon there. Wee also this day finished the sconce we began September 1, upon the mount in the garden by the Fryar's orchard, where we could plant foure pieces of canon, to scoure the Fryar's orchard, and all along the eastgate. The enemy with some stragling horse and foote vapoured this day in the Walham, but durst not come within the reach of our musquetiers; upon the retreate of the horse a peece of ordnance from Captain Pury the elder's sconce, fired and fell in the midst of them, a white horse was seene to fall. In the afternoone a paper was shot upon an arrow into the towne, the contents whereof was this; these are to let you understand your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himselfe to the Tower of London, Essex is beaten like a dog, yeelde to the king's mercie in time, otherwise, if we enter perforce, no quarter for such obstinate traiterly rogues. From a well wisher.

To which presently upon another arrow was returned this answer.

Waller's no God of ours, base rogues ye lie,
Our God survives from all eternity;

Though Essex beaten be, as you doe say,
Rome's yoke we are resolv'd nere to obey:
But for our cabages which ye have eaten,
Be sure ere long ye shall be soundly beaten.
Quarter we aske you none if we fall downe,
King Charles will lose true subjects with the towne.

So saith your best friend, if you make timely use of him,
Nicholas Cudgel you well.

Munday, September 4. We perceived divers carts loden with sick and maimed souldiers going from Lanthony to the water side at Sudmeade, where some boats attended to carry them to Bristol. The enemy had taken up all their horse about the towne, so we had some hopes of their rasing the siege. This morning early our miners had gotten as far as the outward part of the east gate, where by the working of the enemies we perceived their mine to be sunk a great deale lower than ours, so that we were above them, whereupon we set workemen upon the making of great borers with which wee intended to bore through our mine into theirs, and so to drowne the enemy's mine. We understood likewise that the enemy had by the direction of that Jesuitticall Doctor Chillingworth provided great store of engines after the manner of the Romane Testudines cum Pluteis with which they intended to have assaulted the parts of the city, betweene the south and west gates. These engines ran upon cart wheelles with a blinde of planks musquet prooffe, and holes for foure musquetiers to play out of, placed upon the axeltree to defend the musquetiers and those that thrust it forward, and carrying a bridge before it; the wheelles were to fall into the ditch, and the end of the bridge to rest upon our brest-workes, so making severall compleat bridges to enter the city. To prevent this we intended to have made another ditch out of our workes, so that the wheelles falling therein the bridge would have fallen too short of our brestworkes into our wet moat, and so frustrated their intentions. After the

raising of the seige, we tooke all these engines, and brought them into the towne. This night we discerned two fires upon Waynload-hill, made by two messengers, we had the night before sent out to give us intelligence if reliefe was coming: We answered them again with lights in the colledge tower. The enemy made about six great shot from Lanthony barn, whereof one of twenty-five pound bullet weight came through some houses into Master John Halford's kitchen, where his children were a little before, but did no hurt. We now perfected the lining of the houses over and by the east-gate.

Tuesday, September 5, was appointed for a publique fast to be kept within this citty by such as might be spared from labour. In the space between the sermons we discovered their carriages from Lanthony making vp Tredworth feild, and afterwards we perceived their foote and horse marching after, yet we were not assured of their raising of their seige or that our reliefe was so nere at hand, till we perceived their rere guard to fire their hutts and their men to be drawn out of their trenches, which we perceiving, some of our men ventured forth into their trenches, and fired their gallery and canon baskets. And presently after an honest countrey man came running into the towne, and told us that his Excellencie had beaten Prince Rupert about Stow, and that the rest of the army rose to succour him. We thereupon perceived that God had delivered us, and that we were now freed from the hands of those that had so long thirsted after our blood. To him, therefore, be the honour and glory. Amen.

It was admirable to observe

1. The constancie of resolution in citizens and souldiers amidst so many temptations by reason of promises, threats, delay of succour, and want of intelligence even to the very end, although we had not in the whole town above fifty single barrells of powder at the beginning of the siege, and not above three or foure at the raising

thereof. We kept two powder-mills going, and with them made three barrels a week.

2. The vigilant care and unwearied endeavours of our valiant governor, and most worthy serjeant-major, and the officers and souldiers of both regiments, in keeping the guards day and night without any reliefe, and the courage and good successe they had in their many sallies against the enemy.

3. The cheerfull readinesse of yong and old of both sexes, as well of the better as inferiour sort of people by day and night, to labour in the further fortification of our citie. Nay, our maids and others wrought daily without the works in the little mead, in fetching in turfe in the very faces of our enemies.

4. The little hurt done by the enemy with their cannon, muskets and mortar peeces, that sent so many terrible messengers amongst us. All that we lost (either taken or slain) amounted not to the number of above fifty men, yet we killed of the enemy (although they never durst venture an assault against us) above a thousand men, as hath been confessed by some prisoners and renegadoes, and is generally confirmed by the voice of the whole countrey, that continually heard the muttering of their souldiers at their return to their quarters, some say fifteen hundred, some more: we killed likewise most of their canoniers, so that they were forced to send to Bristoll for more, five whereof the king valued before five hundred men.

5. The libertie we had in this strait siege for holy duties, though wee were continually necessitated to bodily labour, and that the siege was raised upon a day of solemn humiliation.

6. How opportunely his Excellencie came with reliefe unto us, through the great care of the parliament and citie of London, even then when the enemy thought themselves ready to devour us: for they had made many strong works and batteries within lesse than pistoll shot of our walls, undermined our gate, and wrought them-

selves quite over our moat, and provided their engines and bridges in readinesse. In all these they shewed and used extraordinary skill and industry.

7. The plenty and store of provision we had in the town of all sorts, so that we turned out even to the very last houre they staid before us, above two hundred head of cattell over our workes to graze in the very noses of them, beside others we kept in the town upon hay.

8. How confident our enemies were of prevailing, and how often they vainly promised to themselves victory: yet though they conceived mischief, they brought forth a lie, their designes were blasted, and we contrary to their expectation delivered.

Which gracious acts of divine providence do deeply engage us to praise the Lord of Hosts with our hearts, lips and lives, who hath gone out with our hosts, whose eye hath watched over us, and whose strong hand was with us. He made us a citie of refuge to others, and hath now been a refuge to us in the time of our distresse. What hath been done by us in our just defence against unlawfull violence, hath not proceeded from any disloyalty to our soveraigne lord the king (whom God preserve) but out of our endeavours to defend true religion and justice, the main pillars of the king's throne: and therefore we far lesse deserve to be stiled desperate rebels, than those that pretend themselves good subjects, and are nothing lesse, their practices wholly tending to the subversion of the protestant religion, and the destruction of the common-wealth.

Our cause wee commit to him that judgeth righteously, upon whom we only depend for our protection, and to whom we daily pray, that he would be reconciled to prince and people, and reconcile each to other, that there may be no more shedding of innocent blood, nor bitter complaining heard in our streets.

Laus Deo in æternum.

Since the siege September 12, we received intelligence, that

there was some ammunition come from Bristoll in a bark to Newnam (about ten miles from Gloucester) for Hereford; whereupon we sent out a party of about forty-five foot, and a troop of horse, to seize upon it for the use of our garrison, who according seized upon the same, being two tun of match, and some store of wine, and such other merchandize, and brought it in wains to Gloucester. Sir John Winter sent out some horse to prevent us, but they durst not come within a mile of us.

THE NAMES OF THE SUPERIOUR OFFICERS OF BOTH REGIMENTS THAT NOW LYE IN GARRISON IN THE CITIE OF GLOCESTER.

Henry Earle of Stamford, Colonel.	Henry Stephens, Colonel.
Edward Massie, Lieutenant-colonel and Governour of Gloucester.	Humph. Matthewes, Lieutenant-colonel.
Constance Ferrer, Major of the town, and Serjeant-major to this regiment.	Isaac Dobson, Serjeant-major.

Edward Grey,	} Captaines.	William Singleton,	} Captaines.
Charles Blunt,		Thomas Pury, senior,	
Peter Crisp,		Luke Nurse,	
Edward Cotton,		John Nelme,	
William White,		John Evans,	
Robert Malery,		Thomas Pury, junior,	
George Massie.			

John Read, Captain Lieutenant.	Robert Stevenson Capt. Lieutenant.
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There was likewise a broken regiment of dragoones of about one hundred men under the command of Col. Forbes, that upon the taking of Bristoll came from Berkley Castle hither. But the other two regiments do properly belong to this garrison.

EDWARD MASSIE, GOVERNOR,

ANAGRAM,

NEVER MISS A GOOD REWARD.

He that doth stand so well upon his guard,
I hope shall never miss a good reward.

THE COPIE OF THE LETTER MENTIONED TO BE SENT TO MASTER

ALDERMAN PURY, SEPT. 4.

SIR,

THE affection which I bear you in particular, and the citie in generall (and no sinister end I call God to record) extorteth these lines from me: for should I be silent when the desolation of that place (I so dearly affect, and where I have bin so dearly beloved) is at hand; I conceive the very stones of that citie being ruined, will rise up against me for ingratitude: but if my advice be not taken, and misery befall both the place and its neighbourhood, the fault shall then rest on you and the now inhabitants, and my conscience cleared. You well know, or at least may have heard, that the citie of Bristoll is taken, twelve ships at sea yeelded, two ships of ammunition from Rochel newly come into the harbour seized on, one ship with great artillery and ammunition coming from the parliament for reliefe of that citie, taken. And this I know, that there are great preparations made for the taking of your citie: all Prince Rupert's forces from Bristoll, with addition of fifteen hundred armed Welsh, and two thousand club men out of Wales, and arms sufficient for to arm them from Bristoll, eight hundred foot from Worcester, with a regiment of horse, five thousand foot with a brigade of horse of the queen's from Oxon. But I much fear that this will hardly sink into the beliefe of some amongst you, yet when you shall hear of the particular randevouzes, and your town surrounded, nay, your houses

fired over your eares; then, when it is too late, I much fear, will be the time of repentance. Wherefore I desire you, as you love God, and the good of your citie for which you serve, and the which is committed to your charge and protection, to take into consideration your sad condition if the citie be taken by force (most of the army being set against you very bitterly :) and if it be not taken, in what condition of poverty and misery both your citie and countrey will fall into. Is not your provision of corn out of Herefordshire, your commerce (wherein most of your livelihoods and being subsisted) both up and down the river, taken quite away? and if you will not consider your own good, yet in conscience think on your neighbours in the country, who have alwayes bin aiding and assisting to you for your protection, who must expect nothing but ruine, if by no other way, yet by the very lying of so mighty an army amongst them; and if they be ruined, whence can you expect future supplies, and the very laying of a siege before your town, must necessarily produce a destruction to your corn and provision of cattell; and who will be losers thereby but your selves, I know not: but this I further know, that your ammunition is not over-much, your places of supply no where, your enemy continually at your doore, and able to retire to his own home at pleasure, and your friends farre, and utterly unable, or at least not capable to send you present reliefe. I know you to be a conscientious honest man, and one whose aimes (as I have thought) have tended to the publick good, and now is the greatest time and opportunity to demonstrate your affections by using some course for an accommodation between your citie and his majesty (who now is here at Bristoll) and from whom I dare boldly affirme by some great friends I have neer him at court, I can procure any favour either for the citie in generall, or your selfe in particular: and of this you may be confident; but if once the forces come against it, you must expect no manner of mercie, but present ruine: wherefore if you intend any thing, let it be done with speed,

and send to my quarter at Charvild, where you may send any one to me without suspition. I beseech you seriously to weigh these things in your breast, and to weigh them as coming from one that dearly loves you and your citie. And God give you all grace to doe that which may most tend to your good, are the prayers of
your reall loving friend.

FINIS.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF THE
LATE EXPEDITION
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY, ROBERT EARLE OF ESSEX,
FOR THE RELIEF OF
GLOUCESTER.

WITH
THE DESCRIPTION OF THE FIGHT AT NEWBURY.

DIE SAB. 7 OCTOBR. 1643.

IT IS THIS DAY ORDERED BY THE COMMONS HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, THAT RALPH
ROUNTHWAIT SHALL PRINT THE RELATION THAT IS MADE CONCERNING THE
BATTLE NEER NEWBURY; AND THAT NONE SHALL REPRINT THE
SAME WITHOUT THE FURTHER ORDER OF MY LO. GENERALL.

HEN. ELSING. CL. P. D. COM.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR RALPH ROUNTHWAIT. 1643.

THE REACTION

EXPEDITION

FOR

THE RELIEF OF GLOUCESTER.

THE fight at Newbury hath beene of late the subject of some pens, who, had they loved truth as well as elegancy, and laboured by plain and particular narrations to describe the action, as much as they have done by false glosses and shadowes to disguise it, had been historians good enough to have informed the people, and saved the labour of any other pen; but howsoever, we shall not wast a line in way of confutation, or picking out any false stitches which they have sewn, but only present to the world our own positive piece of truth so plainly wrought, that perchance the contrary, set by it, may be forced to blush through all her painting. Nor is the fight of Newbury the subject of our discourse, but the whole expedition, which his Excellency made to the relief of Gloucester; in which that victory was but one part (though a very considerable one) of those many honourable acquisitions which he made by the way: the beginning therefore and occasion of that expedition is the beginning of this discourse. The parliament fortune about that time did seem so far sunk by the great losses both in west, and north, and consumption of his Excellency his army by sicknesse, that nothing but an extraordinary blessing of God could make it againe emergent. To aggravate this, so many followed fortune, and forsook the parliament, that those, which were constant, deserved

to have thanks given them for not despairing, as once the Roman senate gave to a generall after a great losse. The extremities were great, and required as great blessings to relieve them. Gloucester besieged by a great and gallant army, where the flower of English nobility and gentry, with courages as high as became their births, were the fierce besiegers, and where his majesty in person was to encourage them. His Excellency fourscore miles off, with a wasted and almost inconsiderable army at that very time, when every day false reports were raised that the city was taken, to discourage him from marching, that march lying through countries already harried by the enemy; insomuch, that all considered, it was a question, which was more wonderfull that he undertook it, or that he did it. But to cure all these extremities, Gloucester had such a governor and such a garrison, as, besides their hourly labours and dangers in fight, had constancy enough to hold out till there were left but two barrells of powder. His Excellency, besides his own magnanimity, (being suddainly recruited) had an army so full of patience, as that with one fortnights' pay at Colebrook (being much in arreare) they were content to march against all those difficulties; and to expose themselves in that long expedition, not only against the sword of an enemy too strong in probability for their encounter, but to another enemy too strong for mankind to resist, famine. Under which undoubtedly they had suffered, if the blessing of God at one place had not happily relieved them, and finally the skill of their generall, and their own courages had not forced a passage through the enemy's army, to bring them at last with honour home to those countries where they might be relieved: the particulars will appear in the following narration.

On Saturday the 26 of August, 1643, the army moved from Colebrook to Beckensfield, and so forward.

On Wednesday from Beerton (where the army was cloathed) we marched to Waddesden; when Sir Philip Stapleton, quartered at

Crendon Underwood, had advertisement that the enemy with four hundred horse was at Bicister three miles from him; he therefore very early sent captain Robert Hamond, captain of the gentlemen of my lord's guard, with one hundred horse for discovery of their posture, who found part of them drawn forth into the field to receive him; he thereupon sent a party to charge them, who beat them through the town, and he with the rest followed them about two miles, where some of the gentlemen of his Excellency's guard did very gallantly, and then returned. The enemy afterwards fell back and faced them, till Sir Philip Stapleton with the rest of the regiment, and Colonell Dalbeer with his regiment advanced, and made the enemy retreat quite away. This was the first time that we saw any enemy in this expedition.

The next day being Friday the first of September our generall rendezvous was on Brackley heath; where the city regiments, and auxiliaries joyned with his Excellency his army; orders given for severall quarters, the head quarter was at Aynoth: Colonel Middleton having order to quarter that night at Deddington, and hearing there of two regiments of the enemy's horse, sent Captain Middleton with two companies of dragoons, and Captain Hale with a party of horse to approach the town: but the enemy retreated to a passage toward Oxford where the Lord Wilmot was with fifty troops more. Our scouts followed so far that they encountered with the other scouts, and fired at each other. Next morning, Colonel Middleton only, with his own regiment, and Sir James Ramsey's, advanced to the passe, where the enemy stood in two great bodies, and after some skirmish got the passe, placing dragooners to maintain it: and when the enemy drew up again towards it, he received them with such resolution that the skirmish (notwithstanding the inequality of forces) was maintained till three o'clock in the afternoon; they then retreating, Colonel Middleton by his Excellencie's command marched toward the army; which

the enemy perceiving, sent out a party of horse to fall on his rere, who followed them through Deddington; which Colonel Middleton perceiving, commanded the Scottish reformed officers to receive them; which they accordingly did, and beat them back through the town in great confusion. The enemy's losse in this skirmish was greater than ours, though not many lost on either side. That night his Excellencie's guards and regiment of horse with my Lord Gray's, quartered at Adderbury, hearing that the enemy from Banbury (two miles off) had sent some horse abroad, sent out a party from both regiments, who beat them in again, and pursued them into Banbury town, whence they took divers horses and prisoners, the enemy not daring to stir out of the castle.

On Sunday the third of September, after divine service, the army marched to Chipping-Norton, where presently after their quartering, the enemy appeared neare the towne; but soon retreated upon the first advance of Sir James Ramsey and Colonell Beere with his regiment of horse.

Munday the fourth of September his Excellency marched toward Stoe the Old; Colonell Harvey with his regiment of horse, and two regiments of foot advanced a little before toward the right hand, and the city regiments upon the left, under the conduct of Lieftenant Colonell Bayley generall adjutant of the foot: and resolutely faced Prince Rupert on both sides, who then appeared with above foure thousand horse, drawne up on the hils: and in the bottome on this side Stoe the Old, when Prince Rupert sent a strong party of horse to encompass Colonell Harvey, Sir James Ramsey having the vanne of the army, and apprehending Colonell Harvie's danger, approached to his reliefe with his own, Colonell Middleton's, and Colonell Sheffield's regiments; made the enemy speedily and confusedly retreat to their body; and pursued them to an hedge, where not above two could passe on breast: our forlorne hope commanded by Captain Carre, who had a little before passed the hedge, ere we

could come to second them, were charged by Urrey with four times their number, and received them with much gallantry, yet charged not through in respect of the enemy's reserves; but made purposely a retreat towards the hedge, where we had an ambuscado of musquetiers: the rest of the regiments were by this time passed the hedge, and made the enemy speedily retreat to their main body; from thence Sir James Ramsey with the forenamed regiments taking the rere, his Excellency with his foot regiment marched in the head of the infantry, and Sir Philip Stapleton with my lord general's guard and regiment of horse, with my Lord Greye's, had the vanguard the rest of the day. When we had marched three miles from Stoe the Old, the enemy drew up his whole force again beyond a passe on the side of an hill; where Sergeant-major General Skippon with only two hundred musquetiers and two peeces bravely advanced, assisted by Sir Philip Stapleton, and the Lord Grey with their horse, and fourty dragoons under Captain Aber Cromy: this small force (his Excellency being there in person to the great encouragement of the party) marching directly upon the enemy, and skirmishing with them, made their whole body to retreat; and though they still appeared before us, we marched on, and drave them seven miles. The army that night quartered at Naunton.

Tuesday (the 5.) his Excellency advanced and came to Presbury hils, where he drew up his whole army in view of the city of Gloucester, and discharged 4 peeces of great ordinance to give them notice of his approach; soon after we discovered the enemie's quarters on fire, for upon our advance they deserted the siege, and marched away all that night in fear and disorder; the rereguard of our army, some ordnance and ammunition stayed on the top of the hils by reason of the steepnesse thereof, darknesse of the night, and tempestuousnesse of weather, whereby (besides the famine) the whole army had for three dayes march before, extremely suffered through a country that the enemy had already destroyed, and that

night through the violence of cold and rain divers of their horses died. His Excellency with the rest of the army quartered that night below the hill at Presbury.

The next day (being Wednesday) his Excellency marching to Cheltenham, the enemy fell into the quarters of Colonell Dalbeir's regiment; but having the alarum, soon retired with little losse.

The next day being Thursday the enemy beat up the quarters of Colonell Goodwin and Colonell Beere's regiment, the losse was not considerable, only Major Boza (charging the enemy very bravely, to make a retreat for the rest) there lost his standard; his lieutenant and cornet taken prisoners. His Excellency staid at Cheltenham till Friday, and then marched with his whole army to Gloucester, where he continued till Sunday, furnishing the town with ammunition, money and other necessaries.

On Sunday he marched to Tewksbury, where he stayed betwixt the enemy's forces and that garrison four days, to give them more time to furnish themselves better with provision of victuall, which was to be brought from Herefordshire and parts beyond the Severn, since all the hither parts were before ransack'd by the enemy. In all these removes since our army came down the hills, the enemy avoided quartering neer us, lying at Sewdly when we were at Gloucester; and when we came to Tewksbury, and advanced with part of our forces to Upton, they marched with their army to Evesham, and towards Worcester ten miles at least from us: whereby it appears how true it is that they pursued us ten days to seek battail.

On Friday morning his Excellency arose with his whole army from Tewksbury intending to quarter that night at Cheltenham; but upon advertisement that a body of the enemies were then in Cirencester (which were reported to be Prince Maurice his forces) and had there laid in great store of provision for their army (our want of necessaries and victual still continuing, and miserably encreasing

upon us) his Excellency made a long march with the vanguard of the army, to fall upon them; which he did about one of the clock in the night, sending in a party of horse (under the command of Major Robert Hamilton) to seize upon the centinels of guards, whilst we with the rest of the horse beguirt the town, and a forlorn hope of foot (commanded by Colonell Alex. Brackley) and his Excellency's own foot regiment entred the town, and surprised two regiments of horse (being Sir Nich. Crispe's and Colonell Spencer's) which were both, by the confession of their own prisoners, intended for raising a commotion in Kent. We took there likewise forty loads of victuall, which under God's providence was the preservation of the army till the day that we fought the great battaile; there were taken six standards, all the officers except the two colonels, which were absent, with divers other gentlemen of quality, above three hundred common souldiers, and four hundred horse.

On Saturday his Excellency marched five miles to Cricklade, and on Sunday as far, to Swinden, where we had a sermon in the afternoon; the reader may observe what long marches wee made to avoid fighting with the enemy.

On Monday morning our intention being for Hungerford, when the van and body of our army had marched almost all over Auborn Chase, there appeared about five or six thousand horse of the enemies, who approached hard to our rereguard, consisting of five regiments of horse, viz. Colonell Middleton's, Lord Gray, Colonell Sheffeld, Harvey, and Meldrum's: their number being smal, it was thought fit that they should orderly retreat to the body of the army; but the enemy pursuing hotly both on rere and flank, our retreat was not without some confusion and losse; and now being come to the body of the foot, Colonell Middleton commanding the aforesaid regiments drew them up again in order, and faced the enemy, untill all the foot were marched. The enemy again advancing put us the second time into the like disorder, when Colonell Middleton

facing about towards them, with his own regiment, two troops of my Lord of Denbigh's, and Captain Woogan's troop, charged their forlorn hope consisting of five hundred horse, and put them wholly into disorder; he then charged the two regiments that seconded the forlorn hope, and routed them; but the enemy coming on stoutly with fresh bodies, stopt his further pursuit: then Colonell Norton advancing with his own and Colonell Harvey's regiment, gave the enemy a brave charge, and was encountred with as much gallantry on the other side, so that they both retreated at one time. Then my Lord Gray and Colonell Meldrum advancing on the enemy, assisted by a small party of musquetiers sent by his Excellency out of his own regiment commanded by Captain Golard, put them into disorder; who notwithstanding drew up again in a good strength, and made our forces retreat to the main body; at which time Sir Philip Stapleton (who had the vanguard that day) came purposely back and drew up his regiment to succor our forces, which caused the enemy to retire altogether, and the night stopt any further proceedings.

Sir Philip Stapleton bringing up the rere of the army, it marched that night to Hungerford. On their party were slaine the Marquesse de Vieuville, with other officers of good quality, whose names are not yet known to us, though their worth and valour appeared highly; many common souldiers were there slain: one lieutenant colonell, two lieutenants, and a cornet taken prisoners. On our side were slain of officers, Captain Middleton, and Captaine Hacket, divers officers were wounded, some common souldiers slaine, and Colonell Sheffeild lost a standard.

The next day being Tuesday, we marched towards Newbury, and when wee approached within two miles of the towne, we might discover the enemie's forces upon an hill; their whole army, having prevented us, were gotten to Newbury and possest the towne. But the next morning, being Wednesday, by breake of day order was

given for our march to an hill called Big's-hill, neere to Newbury, and the only convenient place for us to gaine, that we might with better security force our passage. But when his Excellency perceived that the enemie's forces had possest themselves of that hill, marching himself upon the head of his owne regiment*, Colonell Barclay's, and † Colonell Holborn's brigades, he charged so fiercely that he beat them from the hill, and kept it (rather gaining than losing ground) the whole day. His Excellencie's regiment and those other brigades, all the while they continued there, were hotly charged by the enemie's horse and foot, whilst much prowesse was shewed on both sides, his Excellency in person bestirred himselfe giving directions wherever there was occasion, and present in all places of danger, discharged the part of an excellent generall, as the enemies themselves can witnesse; but he considered not the danger of his person, whilst he laboured to maintaine that place, which of all other was most advantagious for his prospect. By this time came up the two trained bands of London, who though they were often charged by the horse and foot, stood to it with undaunted resolution.

The battle thus begun by the foot, Sir Philip Stapleton with his Excellency's guard and regiment of horse advanced upon the plaine of the hill; when he had no sooner drawn up out of the lane's end, seconded by Colonell Dalbeir's regiment of horse (no other horse being then advanced to the place) but the enemy perceiving this advantage, being all drawne already in severall great bodies of horse, part of them advanced immediately, and charged our horse, whom we so well received (giving no fire till we joined close with them) that the enemy was wholly routed, and pursued with much execution neer to the place where their whole body of horse stood.

* Consisting of his owne, Colonell Holmsted's, and Colonell Tyrril's regiment.

† Consisting of his owne, Colonell Thomson's and Colonell Langham's regiment.

From thence by order we drew back to our first ground; by occasion whereof opportunity was gained to bring up the remainder of our horse which had the van-guard that day: * whereupon the enemy drew out some fresh regiments of his horse, and with all possible haste advanced againe upon Sir Philip; but received no better entertainment than before, being againe routed by him. By that time that he had drawne up his regiment againe into some order, the other regiments (Ramsey, Harvey, Goodwin) were come up to him, when the enemy with their whole body charged upon them bravely, and were as well received. Sir Philip Stapleton was here charged both in front and flank, his whole regiment having spent both their pistols, and was so encompassed, that the enemy and ours, with both our whole bodies, were all mixed together, and in this confusion many were slaine on both sides, and our men at last were forced towards the lane's end where they first came in: Which being neer our foot, the enemies endeavoured to disingage themselves, and drew back to their own forces. Those that entred the lane with ours were most of them slaine.

We took three colours of horse compleat, and a peece of another colours; one of the colours which we took, was the harp with the crown royall, the motto 'Lyrica Monarchica,' another having an angell with a flaming sword treading on a dragon, the motto 'Quis ut Deus?' a third with a French motto 'Courage pour la Cause.'

In the first charge Colonell Dalbeire and Com. Copley charging with much bravery were both wounded. In the third charge Captain Hamond, Captain Fleetwood, Captain Pym, and Cornet Doyley were all wounded. Captain Draper, who led a forlorn hope of Sir Philip Stapleton's men, behaved himself very gallantly, as Captain Abercromy, and Captain Shibborne did with their dragoones. The left wing of our horse commanded by Colonell Mid-

* Viz. Sir James Ramsey, Colonell Goodwin, Colonell Harvey, Colonell Norton, and the three commanded troops under Sir Samuel Luke.

dleton, and the right wing of the enemy's horse, could not be engaged but in small parties by reason of the hedges.

The actions of our horse thus described wholly (because we were loth to interrupt the series, for the reader's clearer understanding) return we to the foot. Major Generall Skippon in the morning, when his Excellency (as aforesaid) was engaged upon the hill, hastened to the top of the hill, where our vanguard was in fight, having before ordered the march of our traine of artillerie, and those that attended it (which were the* Lord Roberts his brigade,† and his owne, Sir William Springer's, Colonell Mannering's, and the red and blew auxiliary regiments) to bee neere to his Excellency; looking from the hill, toward Newbury, he perceived a great strength of the enemy both horse and foot in divers great bodies advancing directly towards the way which all our train was of necessity to march. To prevent therefore what he suspected, which was that the enemy would fall upon our traine, or upon the rere of those that fought on the hill, or gaine that hill behind us, our last night's quarter, or all: he speedily placed (which his Excellency did also send him a command to do) forces in places most convenient. Mean while his Excellency sending for more foot, that brigade, wherein his regiment and Springer's were, with the red auxiliaries were sent up; placing my Lord Roberts his brigade with foure or five small peeces just where the enemy advanced, who gave them so warme an entertainment that they ran shamefully: and my Lord Roberts possest the ground which the enemy came first up unto: his lieutenant colonell was shot in the face.

That forlorn-hope which he had commanded the night before, being now strengthened with three hundred musquetiers, and led by

* Consisting of his own, Sir William Constable's and Colonell Martin's regiments.

† Consisting of his own, Sir William Brook's and Colonell Bolstrode's regiments.

Major Fortescue, Major Generall Skippon placed on the left of my Lord Roberts his brigade, upon the high way that came from Newbury just upon us, upon which way four drakes were likewise placed, and well defended; though the enemies came up so close, that they took away a limmer of one of our peeces, but it was with losse of many of their lives. Colonell Mannering's regiment was placed on the right hand between the hill and my Lord Roberts his brigade. This regiment his Excellency a while after commanded away, to the relief of his own regiment, Colonell Barckley's and Colonell Holborn's brigades, which had been four hours upon very hot service. It fortun'd that this regiment was no sooner brought on, but they were overcharged with two great bodies of horse and foot so, that they were forced to retreat and lose that ground which the forenamed forces had gotten: which Colonell Holborn perceiving with his brigade gave the enemy a round salvo, and instantly his own and Colonell Barckley's brigades and his Excellency's regiment again advancing beat back the enemy, regain'd the ground, and made good the place all the day after.

The blew auxiliary regiment he commanded to relieve and assist the forlorn-hope, which had been three or four times in their turns at the point. The fight all along the valley (more than half a mile in length) was continued as long as in any other part of the army, which was til ten a clock at night, about which time the enemy gave a good round salvo upon Colonell Barckley, and Colonell Holborn's posts. These things ordered, the major generall rode up to the top of the hill, where he espied an advantage to bestow eight or ten demiculvering shot upon the enemy, who out of an house pelted the forenamed gentlemen at neer distance; then he rallied the two train-band regiments into one body, drew them up, and placed them before, where the train of artillery did afterwards draw up to the top of the hill, and desired Major Boteler to draw the musquetiers of his regiment on the right hand before the two

demiculverings, that were placed at the end of the lane on the top of the hill; and the red auxiliaries he placed on the left hand of those peeces, which before were slenderly guarded. The train of artillery that day was excellently ordered by the skill and care of Sir John Merrick, to the great advantage and safety of our army. While this was acting, two peeces which belonged to the major general's regiment, and one drake of Sir William Brook's were by his Excellencie's regiment under the command of Major Boteler, with the assistance of two hundred musquetiers recovered; and the enemy drew away from their pikes (which with their colours kept standing, with many great bodies of horse to guard them) five or six hundred musquetiers, besides dragoons, to encompass our men on the right hand among the hedges; just at which time his Excellency sent to have two hundred of the three hundred musquetiers of the forlorn-hope to go to the relief of Colonell Barckley and Colonell Holborn's souldiers. But then the enemy falling on upon our right hand diverted them, who with other of our musquetiers thereabouts beat the enemy off, who else had done us great mischief; this was about four a clock in the afternoon, when all our whole army of foot was engaged in the fight; but then he also caused some of the red auxiliary regiment to draw neerer to Colonell Barckley's post, as he himself required; at length night drew on, when the enemy both horse and foot stood in good order on the further side of the green, where we expected their stay till next morning, and that they were working (as was reported) to place their cannon, to make use of them against us when day should break; against which supposed encounter we encouraged our souldiers before hand, and resolved by God's help the next day to force our way through them or dye. But it pleased God to make our passage without blows; for the enemy was gone by night, so that the next morning we marched quietly over the same ground where the battail was fought, and where the enemy stood; for on Thursday early his Excellency gave command for the armie's march

towards Reading, to which purpose it was all drawn up upon the heath where the battail was fought; and after that his Excellency had given order for burying the dead, about ten of the clock we began to march, Colonell Middleton with his own and three regiments more (Lords Grey, Sheffeld, Meldrum) and four hundred commanded musquetiers under the command of Colonell Barckley had the rereguard. During which march the enemy at a great distance shot from several hedges, but troubled us not. When we came to a long heath, we drew up the whole army severall times, and no enemy appeared. But at the entrance of a narrow lane toward the evening the enemy fell upon us with eight hundred commanded musquetiers and most of their horse, who caused our horse then in the rere to make a very disorderly and confused retreat. But when Colonell Middleton with the rest of the commanders in the rere hastened to charge the enemy with our foot, he made them retreat with as much confusion over the heath as they did us before: the losse not considerable on either side, but on the enemies most: Lieutenant Browne was taken prisoner. After this the same evening his Excellency drew up the army to Theale, and taking some refreshment there, marched the next morning being Friday with the whole army to Reading, where we stayed till the sabbath was past, and gave publique thanks for the great victory.

Thus, gentle reader, hast thou had a description of the whole expedition in a narration plain and particular, if too much particularity have not made it tedious, and perplexed both the stile and thy patience. But for excuse take this; besides that truth, not rhetoricke was here aimed at, the officers' names are so particularly exprest in every action, that thou mayest know where to enquire the certainty of every thing, and what men of worth will upon their honours make it all good. If therefore his Excellency have in this expedition accomlisht the end which he proposed, with many honourable advantages and additions by the way, followed the enemies and

never baulked them, come off with successe, and in the last and greatest fight with a victory, let the impartiall reader judge on which side the occasion of triumphing is. And if the other side have given thanks for the reliefe of Gloucester, for the preservation of his Excellency through so many difficulties, and the safe returne of himselfe and his army; his Excellency in justice must give them thanks for their well wishing to him, and in requitall be heartily sorry for the losse of so many gallant gentlemen on their side. Which (without jesting) I dare sweare he is; since there is no victory in civill warre that can bring the conquerer a perfect triumph.

FINIS.

never balked them, come off with success, and in the last and greatest fight with a victory, for the impartial reader judge on which side the decision of triumphing is. And if the other side have given thanks for the relief of Gloucester, for the preservation of his Excellency through so many difficulties, and the safe return of himself and his army; his Excellency in justice must give them thanks for their well wishing to him, and in requital be heartily sorry for the loss of so many valiant gentlemen on their side. Which (without jesting) I dare swear he is; since there is no

A true copy of a paper delivered to his Excellency upon the Heath neer Newberry, by a trumpeter sent from Prince Rupert on Thursday the 21 of September, 1643, being the next morning after the fight.

“ We desire to know from the Earl of Essex whether he have the Viscount Falkland, Captain Bertue and Serjeant Major Wilshire prisoners, or whether he have their dead bodies, and if he have, that liberty may be granted to their servants to fetch them away.

“ Given under my hand at Newbery this 21 of September, 1643.

“ RUPERT.”

A
TRUE AND EXACT RELATION
OF
THE MARCHINGS
OF THE
TWO REGIMENTS OF THE TRAINED BANDS
OF
THE CITY OF LONDON,
BEING
THE RED AND BLEW REGIMENTS,
AS ALSO
OF THE THREE REGIMENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES,
THE
BLEW, RED, AND ORANGE,
WHO MARCHED FORTH FOR THE RELIEFE OF THE CITY OF
G L O C E S T E R

FROM
AUGUST 23, TO SEPTEMBER 28.

WHEREIN THE MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES OF EVERY DAYES
MARCHINGS ARE BRIEFLY DELINEATED.

AS ALSO
A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERALL BATTELLS AND SKIRMISHES
HAD AGAINST THE ENEMY AT STOW THE OLD SEPT. 4, AT ABURNE
CHASE SEPTEMBER 18, AND AT NEWBERY SEPTEM. 20.

SET FORTH FOR THE SATISFACTION OF MANY WHO EARNESTLY DESIRED
INFORMATION HEREIN,

BY HENRY FOSTER,
QUONDAM SERJEANT TO CAPTAIN GEORGE MOSSE.

EXOD. 1, 5, 6, 7.

Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power ; thy right hand, O Lord,
hath dashed in peeces the enemy.
And in the greatnesse of thine excellency thou hast overthrowne them that
rose up against thee ; thou didst send forth thy wrath, which consumed
them as stubble.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR BENJAMIN ALLEN IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY,
OCTOB. 2, 1643.

A
TRUE AND EXACT RELATION

OF
THE MARCHING

OF THE
TWO REGIMENTS OF THE TRAINED BANDS

OF
THE CITY OF LONDON

BEING
THE RED AND BLUE REGIMENTS

AND THE THREE REGIMENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES
BLUE, RED, AND ORANGE

WHO MARCHED NORTH FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CITY OF

GLoucester

FROM
AUGUST 21 TO SEPTEMBER 28

WHEN THE MOST MATERIAL PASSAGES OF EVERY DAY
MARCHING ARE EXACTLY DESCRIBED

AS ALSO
A TRUE DESCRIPTION OF THE SEVERAL BATTLES AND SKIRMISHES
HAD AGAINST THE ENEMY AT STOW THE OLD SEPT. 4. AT ARDRE
CHASE SEPTEMBER 18. AND AT NEWBURY SEPTEMBER 20.

AND FOR THE RELIEF OF THE CITY OF LONDON
INTERNATIONAL BATTLE

BY HENRY FOSTER

QUONIAM SERVANT TO CAPTAIN GEORGE MOORE

EXOD. 17. 12.
The right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power; the right hand, O Lord,
hath dashed in pieces the enemy.
And in the greatness of thine excellency thou hast overcome them that
rose up against thee; thou didst smite down the strength, which consisted
them in strength.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR BENJAMIN ALLEN IN TOWER-HEAD-ALLEY,
CHURCH-LANE, 1848.

TRUE RELATION

OF THE
DIURNALL MARCHINGS OF THE RED AND BLEW REGIMENTS

OF THE
TRAINED BANDS OF THE CITY OF LONDON, AS ALSO THE
THREE REGIMENTS OF THE AUXILIARY FORCES.

WHEREIN THE MOST MATERIALL PASSAGES OF EVERY DAYES
OCCURRENCES ARE BRIEFLY DELINEATED.

UPON Wednesday the 23 of August, our red regiment of the train'd bands marched into the new artillery ground, and from thence that night wee marched to Brainford, and came thither about one a clocke in the morning; from whence the next day many of our citizens, who seemed very forward and willing at the first to march with us, yet upon some pretences and faire excuses returned home againe, hiring others to goe in their roome; others returned home againe the same night before they came to Brainford.

Upon Friday the 25 of August, wee advanced from Brainford to Uxbridge, where our regiments were quartered there that night, and marched away the next morning.

Saterday the 26 of August we advanced to a towne six miles beyond Uxbridge called Chaffan, where wee were quartered that night; at this towne a souldier belonging to Lievtenant Colonell Tompson was accidentally slaine by shooting off a musket by one of his fellow souldiers, though at a great distance from him, yet shot him in the head whereof hee died.

Sabbath day 27 August, we advanced from Chaffan neere to a village called Chessun; this day the blew regiment of the trained bands, and the three regiments of the auxiliary forces met us upon a great common about three miles from Chessun, our whole regiment was quartered at one Mr. Cheyney's house, an esquire, where we were well accommodated for beere, having great plenty, two or three hundred of us this night lay in one barne.

Monday the 28 of August, we advanced from thence to a towne called Asson-Clinton, a little village three miles from Alesbury, wee continued here one day and two nights.

Wednesday the 30 of August, wee advanced from thence to a village called Clayden; this day the lord generall's army and our regiments of the trained band, together with the auxiliarie forces, met at Alesbury; the great guns were fired at every fort about the towne, as the lord generall passed by: this was the fast day: our regiment was quartered this night at Sir Ralph Verney's house, a parliament man; his father the king's standart-bearer was slain at Edge hill.

Thursday the 31 of August, wee advanced from thence to a village called Stretton-Ardley; this night all our brigade consisting of six regiments, viz. Colonell Manwaring's red regiment, two regiments of trained bands, and three of the auxiliary, were all quartered at this little village, it is conceived wee were in all of this brigade about five thousand, here was little provision either for officers or souldiers, the night before we came hither, the cavaliers were at Bister two miles from this village and six miles from Oxford, but were beaten out of it by our souldiers and the lord generall with his army quartered there this night.

Friday the 1 day of September, wee advanced from hence to a place call'd Bayard's-green in Oxfordshire, being three miles distant from Brackley, and eight miles from Banbury, where our brigade met my lord generall with his whole army; whereat was

great shouting and triumph as he passed by to take a view of our regiments; the whole army being drawne up in their severall regiments, continued there about an houre and then we marched away: it was a goodly and glorious sight to see the whole army of horse and foot together; it is conceived by those that viewed our army well, that wee did consist of (to speake of the least) fifteen thousand horse and foot, some speak of many more. This day good newes was brought to us concerning Gloucester, and Exeter. From hence we marched this day to a village called Souldern, foure miles from Banbury, where our six regiments that came from London were quartered; and my lord generall and the rest of the army were quartered about a little mile from us, at a market town called Ano on the Hill; we were very much scanted of victualls in this place.

Saterday 2 September, wee advanced from hence to Hooknorton, twenty-five miles from Gloucester, at which village our whole brigade was quartered. This day the lord general's troops had some skirmish with the cavaliers; it is reported there was eight slaine of the enemy's party and one on ours. From hence we marched away the next morning.

Sabbath day 3 September, wee advanced from hence to a little village called Addington about a mile from Stow the Old, the hithermost town in Gloucester-shire, and about twenty miles from Gloucester; where, in our march this day, wee againe met the lord generall's army, upon a great common about halfe a mile from Chippingnorton; at which place also our five regiments departed from his army, and marched to the village aforesaid. The blew regiment of the train'd bands marched in the van and tooke up the first quarter in the town; the other three regiments of the auxiliary forces were quartered at the adjacent villages; whereupon our red regiment of the trained band was constrained to march halfe a mile further to get quarter, we were now in the van of the whole army, having not so much as one troope of horse quartered neer us: but we were no

sooner in our quarters, and set downe our armes, intending a little to refresh our selves; but presently there was an alarme beat up, and wee being the frontier regiment neerest the enemy, were presently all drawn up into a body, and stood upon our guard all that night, we were in great distraction, having not any horse to send out as scouts, to give us any intelligence: my lord generall with his army lay at Chippinguorton, about three miles behind us; who had an alarm there given by the enemy the same night also: our regiment stood in the open field all night, having neither bread nor water to refresh ourselves, having also marched the day before without any sustenance, neither durst we kindle any fire though it was a very cold night.

Munday 3 Septemb. we got some refreshment for our souldiers, which was no sooner done, but news was brought to us, that the enemy was within halfe a mile of the town, which proved to be true; for presently one rid downe to us having his horse shot in the neck all bloody, and told us the enemy was at the town's end; also one trooper slaine a quarter of a mile above the town, one of our souldiers stript him, and brought his clothes to us: It was a little open village, the enemy might have come in upon us every way, therefore we conceiving it not safe to abide in the town, drew up our regiment presently into a body, and marched into a broad open field to the top of the hill, the blew regiment of the train'd bands were quartered within lesse than half a mile of us, but came not up to us: Being come into the field we saw about four or five thousand of the enemie's horse surrounding of us, one rid post to my lord generall to informe him of it. One great body of their horse stood facing of us upon the top of the hill at our towne's end, within lesse than a quarter of a mile from us, another great body of their horse was in the valley, upon our right flank as we stood; and a third great squadron of their horse were going up to the top of a hill, in the reere of us; by all which it appeares, they had an intent to have

surrounded our city regiments, and to have cut us off; we stood and faced one another for the space of halfe an houre; then six or seven of our men who had horses, rode up to them, and came within lesse than musket shot, flourishing their swords, daring them, and one or two of our men fired upon their forlorn hope: we had lyned the hedges with musketeers, which they perceiving did not move towards our body, but only stood and faced us. Then some of the auxiliary forces came up to us, at whose coming we gave a great shout: and then by and by after we saw my lord general's forces comming down the hill about a mile and halfe behind us: my lord drew out the forlorn hope upon the hill as they came down; who fired three or four drakes against the enemies horse that were neer them on the top of the hill, that were coming upon the reer of us, and made them retreat to the rest of the body; their intent was to have compassed us in on every side, but the Lord prevented them; they might have spoiled our whole regiment, had they in the morning come down upon us when we were taking a little food to refresh ourselves, the enemy being then but half a mile off; a great many of the cavaliers lay all night within lesse than a mile of us, which we perceived in our march the next day; I hope the mercy of that day will not bee forgotten.

When this was done, my lord general's forces marched up to our brigade: when they were come we drew forth our forlorn hope, and marched up to the body of their horse that stood facing us on the top of the hill: we fired some drakes at them, they retreated: then the lord generall drew up his great guns, they faced us againe, we fired two great peeces of ordnance at them, and then they retreated up to the towne of Stow, and drew up all their horse into a body, and stood upon the side of the hill facing us: then we let flye two or three of our greatest ordnance at them; they all fled, and wee pursued them and followed them three miles: Then they stood and faced the lord generall againe about the going downe

of the sun, we fired at them a great while, marching up towards them five or sixe regiments together, all in a body, about eight hundred or one thousand a-brest, sixe deep, we having roome enough, it being a brave champion country: which goodly shew did so much the more daunt the enemy, that (as it is reported) Prince Rupert swore, hee thought all the round-heads in England were there.

In the first skirmish we lost but one man, who was slaine by our owne cannon through his owne negligence, and another sore burnt and hurt by the same peece. When we came to Stow, the cavaliers reported that they had killed twenty of our men, and we two of theirs; but we heare there were sixe of their men slaine, some horses killed, and five prisoners taken. Prince Rupert was there, and some say the Lord of Holland also. Our men pursuing them skirmished till nine of the clocke at night; wee marched after them till twelve of the clocke at night: we lay all in the open field, upon the plowd-land, without straw, having neither bread nor water, yet God enabled our souldiers to undergoe it cheerfully, there was not one feeble sicke person amongst us, but was able to march with us the day following.

Tuseday, September 25, we advanced from that field neare to a towne called Prestbury, within sight of Gloucester, about seven miles from it: This day the whole army marching together, it fell to our red regiment of the trained bands to march in the reare of the waggons, and had charge of them: about sixe of the clocke the lord generall comming to the top of a high mountaine or hill, called Presbury-hill, where we might see the city of Gloucester, he commanded foure or five great peeces of ordnance to be fired; some say it was against the cavaliers, who were about a mile off, in the towne below the hill: others say it was to give intelligence to Gloucester of our approaching to their reliefe. The army marched downe the hill, and hastened to the adjacent villages for quarter,

but before the waggons could come to the top of the hill, night drawing on, it began to be very darke, so that our waggons and carriages could not get downe the hill, many of them were overthrowne and broken, it being a very craggy steep and dangerous hill, so that the rest of the waggons durst not adventure to goe downe, but stayed all night there: sixe or seven horses lay dead there the next morning, that were killed by the overthrow of the waggons: our red regiment having charge of the waggons, were constrained to lye all night upon the top of this mountaine, it being a most terrible tempestuous night of winde and raine, as ever men lay out in, we having neither hedge nor tree for shelter, nor any sustenance of food, or fire: we had by this time marched sixe daies with very little provision; for no place where we came was able to releeve our army, we leaving the rode all the way, and marching through poore little villages: our souldiers in their marching this day would run halfe a mile or a mile before, where they heard any water was, such straits and hardship our citizens formerly knew not: yet the Lord that called us out to doe his worke, enabled us to undergoe such hardnesse as hee brought us to. This evening the lord generall was faine to fight for his quarter, and beat the enemy out of it, at a market towne called Cheltnam, five miles from Glocester, and two miles from this hill; about midnight we had two alarms upon this hill, in the midst of all the storme and raine, which together with the darknesse of the night made it so much the more dreadfull, which also caused a great distraction among our souldiers, every one standing upon his guard, and fearing his fellow souldier to bee his enemy. Many other particular sad stories of this tempestuous stormy night I leave to the relation of others: one young man of the colonel's company was shot in this confusion upon this hill, whose death will be much lamented by his parents and friends, from whom he received a letter but a few dayes before to returne home.

The next morning, being Wednesday, September 26, our souldiers came downe from that hill into the village aforesaid, being wet to the very skin, but could get little or no refreshing every house being so full of souldiers: The cavaliers were in the towne but the day before. Wee stayed here but two or three houres that morning, and then wee had an alarm that the cavaliers were neere the towne with a great body of horse: We were all presently drawne up into a body in the field; our souldiers began to complaine pitifully, being even worn out and quite spent for want of some refreshing, some complaining they had not eat or drunke in two dayes, some longer time. Yesterday the enemy raised their siege from before Gloucester: this day our two regiments of the trained bands marched to a little village called Norton, three miles wide of Gloucester, and foure miles from Teuxbury, where our souldiers had some reasonable accommodation and refreshment: in this village wee had many alarms: we continued here two dayes and two nights.

Thursday, September 7, the king's forces fell upon some of our troops of horse at Winscombe, they being secure, the enemy killed many of them, and tooke many prisoners, and some colours: the regiments of our horse there did belong to Colonell Vere and Colonell Goodwin. The auxiliary regiments were quartered within two miles where this was done. This night about seven of the clock there came a comand for our regiments of the trained bands to march five miles back againe in the night, but it being a very darke night, and our men worne out and spent with their former marching, they refused to goe; but next morning, being Friday, September 8, we did. The lord generall with the whole army marched into Gloucester this day.

The citie was exceeding full of horse and foote: the enemy besieged this towne a full moneth and three dayes. They had many strong assaults against it, and battered some of their workes; and in two or three places they had begun to undermine the gates, and

out-workes, but were met with by the citie forces, who did undermine within to meet them: without they shott many granadoes of great weight, which when they fell in the citie were red as fire; yet blessed be God, kild not one man therewith; only tore up the ground as if a beare had been rooting up the earth: The inhabitants in the citie report that the enemy shot one hundred and forty shot great and small in one day, and yet killed neither man, woman, nor childe; they lost but about thirtie in this citie during the time of this siege; most of which, as is reported, were shot in the head, in peeping through some holes at the enemy; wee found very loving respect and entertainment in this citie, they being very joyfull of our coming; wee abode here Fryday night and Saturday, and marched away on Sabbath day morning: the lord generall left in this citie three great pieces of ordnance, as also many score barrells of powder, with match and bullet proportionable, furnishing them to their hearts' desire.

Sabbath day, September 10, the whole army advanced from Gloucester to Tewksburie, where wee abode foure dayes and five nights, till Gloucester had provided themselves of corne and other provisions: the enemy had cut off from the citie all their pipes of water, and burnt their mills: my lord generall summoned this towne of Tewksbury, and demanded the twentieth part of their estates for the reliefe of Gloucester. Wee were at this towne five dayes, from Sabbath day till Fryday, September 15. On Thursday night the enemy did fall upon some of our troopes of horse, who were quartered about three miles from Tewksbury, of the regiment belonging to Sir James Ramsey, they slew many of our men, and took many others prisoners. Wee took foure of them prisoners; but the greatest losse was sustained on our side. Before wee marched from this towne, the lord generall gave order for the making of a bridge over the river Severne neere Tewksbury, as if our intention had been to march with our army over there to

Worcester; which caused the enemy to draw their forces thither, as a place of refuge: The wisdom and policie of the lord generall and counsell of warre, as also, their great care for the preservation of our army, is highly to be commended and never to be forgotten; and may serve to stop the mouths of all such as shall hereafter be opened against him: for had the enemy knowne which way we had marched, they might have had us at a great advantage, by gaining the hills; wee being now in the vale of Esum, and all our great ordnance and carriages to be drawn up those hills, they might have kept us there all this winter, and starved our army: but blessed be God, we all marched away with safetie. One that was present at Esum, where the king with his army lay, affirmes that when tydings came to the king that wee were marched from Tewksbury, they did stamp and swear and curse their scouts exceedingly, that they gave them no better intelligence of our departure. And the same day we marched from Tewksbury, the king with his army and traine of artillery marched from Esum after us, as will appear in the ensuing matter.

Fryday, September 15, our whole army advanced from Tewksbury to Ciceter, alias Cirencister, seventeen miles we marched all night, and sate down before it about three a clock in the morning: when we came thither Sir Robert Pye marched up to the towne, and with some muskettiers he gave fire upon the centinells, killed one of them, and wounded the other; Sir Robert himself received a shot in the arme: the cavaliers yeelded the town and desired quarter: wee took two hundred and twenty-five prisoners, whereof ten were commanders, we tyed them two and two together with match, and brought them along with us: we took also twenty-seven waggon-load of provision, which the cavaliers had provided for the reliefe of their own army: they had taken the school-house belonging to the towne, and made it their store-house, to lay in such provision as they made the countrey to bring in; they slew one man of ours,

who was pistold by one that took him prisoner: we killed two or three of them.

Saturday, September 16, we advanced from Ciceter five miles to a village called Letton, where our London briggade was quartered that night; the lord generall with his army quartered a mile further at a market-towne in Wiltshire called Cricklet; at the village afore-said were ten cart load of cavaliers, who were sick and lame, and brought thither to be quartred, who when they heard we were marching to this place, they then found their leggs and run away: this day we had a wet march, and in the night a false alarm.

Sabbath day, September 17, we marched from Cricklet to a market towne called Swindowne, eight miles. This morning newes was brought that the cavaliers were come to Ciceter, and had taken and kild many of our men, who stayed behind drinking and neglecting to march with their colours, who are not much to be pittied: this day we drove along with our army about one thousand sheep and sixty head of cattell, which were taken from malignants and papists in the country for the maintenance of our army: eighty-seven sheep was allotted for our red regiment, but wee afterwards lost them all, when we came to fight; it being every man's care then to secure himselfe, and to see to the safetie of the army: this night our London-briggade was quartred two miles beyond the lord generall's quarters at a little poore village called Chizelton, where wee could get no accommodation either for meat or drink, but what we brought with us in our snapsacks: most of us quartred in the open feild, it being a very cold frosty night, wee marched away hence the next morning.

Munday, September 18, we advanced from this village about two miles to a place called Abern-chase, where newes was brought to the lord generall, that the enemy was coming upon us with a great body of horse, which caused the lord generall to make a stand, our whole army being in a deep valley, and the enemy upon the hills

on our left flank, we drew up all our army into a body to the top of the hill, where we had a full view of the enemy over against us: there appeared a great body of their horse; it was conceived there was seven or eight thousand, but no foot that we could discern; we stood a while and faced them; then one small body of horse as a forlorn hope marched up the hill to them, and fired upon them, and then retreated to their main body in the valley; the enemy followed our horse in their retreat, firing at them all the way very feircely; then we fired some drakes at their horse, but did little execution; then our body of foot was drawne downe from this hill to the top of another high hill, where we stood and faced the enemy, having a full view of all that was don between our horse and theirs: our foot were not ingaged at all in this fight, except two regiments only: then Colonell Meldram's and Colonell Harvie's troops drew up in a body and gave the enemy a very feirce charge, which was performed with as brave courage and valour as ever men did, and then wheeled about to a regiment of our foot that stood in the reer of them, the enemy pursued them in their retreat, skirmishing one at another all the way; what number was slain in this fight is not yet known: here Captain Willet received a shot from the enemy, of which wound he is since dead: we lost no other man of note in this fight: one man of great note and esteem of the enemie's partie was here slaine, Marquesse de la Veel, his father is lord high marshall of France, and chiefe commander in the feild: we took up his body and carried it to Hungerford; I viewed his wounds, he received three shot in his body from us, one in his right pap, another in the shoulder, and a third in the face: from this place all their horse gathered into a body when it begun to be dark, and so ours likewise, and wee marched away that night to Hungerford five miles: our red regiment with some other regiments were quartred a mile on this side Hungerford, at a little village called Shelton; those that marched in the reer of the army, were marching

this five miles all night: we were much distressed for want of sleep, as also for all other sustenance; it was a night of much raine, we were wet to the skin: this day we took twenty-five cavaliers at Hungerford, whereof one was slaine.

Tuesday, Septemb. 19. we advanced from Hungerford to a village called Embry, about a mile and halfe from Nubury: the lord generall had intent to have quartered at Nubury that night, but the king got into the town that day before, and so we were prevented. This morning a trumpetter came from the king to the lord generall, to desire that chyrurgions and doctors might have free access from them to the marquesse that we had taken. But the messenger came too late: for the marquesse was past their cure. The lord generall told him, if they pleased to send for his body, they might have it. The death of this marquesse hath much intraged the enemy, being one whom they did highly esteem. This night our whole army quartered in the open field; we had no provision but what little every one had in his snapsack. We had now marched many dayes and nights with little food, or any sustenance, and little sleep. This night the king sent a challenge to the lord generall, to give him battell the next morning, which accordingly was performed; and in the night our enemies gained the hills where they intended to give us battell, they planted their ordinance, got all advantages they could desire, before our army marched up to them: Yet now wee see there is neither wisdom, nor policie, nor strength, against the Lord; yea, had not the Lord himselfe been on our side, they had swallowed us up quick, so great was their rage and fury stirred up against us, they being confident of the victory before we came to fight: But let not him that puts on his harnesse boast as he that puts it off. For it was not our owne arme that saved us, but the right hand of the Lord became glorious in that day, to get himself a glorious name.

The next morning, September 20, very a rly before day, we had

drawn up all our army in their severall regiments, and marched away by break of day; and then advancing towards the enemy with most cheerfull and couragious spirits: The Lord Robert's souldiers had begun to skirmish with them before we came up to the enemy; which we hearing, put us to a running march till wee sweat again, hastening to their reliefe and succour. When wee were come up into the field, our two regiments of the trained bands were placed in open campania upon the right wing of the whole army. The enemy had there planted eight pieces of ordnance, and stood in a great body of horse and foot, wee being placed right opposite against them, and far lesse than twice musket shot distance from them. They began their battery against us with their great guns, above halfe an houre before we could get any of our guns up to us; our gunner dealt very ill with us, delaying to come up to us: our noble Colonell Tucker fired one peece of ordnance against the enemy, and aiming to give fire the second time, was shot in the head with a cannon bullet from the enemy. The blew regiment of the trained bands stood upon our right wing, and behaved themselves most gallantly. Two regiments of the king's horse which stood upon their right flanke a far off, came fiercely upon them, and charged them two or three times, but were beat back with their muskettiers, who gave them a most desperate charge, and made them flie. This day our whole army wore green boughes in their hats, to distinguish us from our enemies; which they perceiving, one regiment of their horse had got green boughes, and rid up to our regiments crying, "Friends, friends;" but we let flie at them, and made many of them and their horses tumble, making them flie with a vengeance. The enemies canon did play most against the red regiment of trained bands, they did some execution amongst us at the first, and were somewhat dreadfull when men's bowels and brains flew in our faces: But blessed bee God that gave us courage, so that we kept our ground, and after a while feared them not; our

ordnance did very good execution upon them: for we stood at so neer a distance upon a plain field, that we could not lightly misse one another: We were not much above halfe our regiments in this place; for we had sixty files of muskettiers drawn off for the forlorn hope, who were ingaged against the enemy in the field upon our left flank. Where most of the regiments of the army were in fight, they had some small shelter of the hedges and bankes, yet had a very hot fight with the enemy, and did good execution, and stood to it as bravely as ever men did. When our two regiments of the trained bands had thus plaid against the enemy for the space of three hours, or thereabout, our red regiment joyned to the blew which stood a little distance from us upon our left flank, where we gained the advantage of a little hill, which we maintained against the enemy halfe an hour: two regiments of the enemy's foot fought against us all this while to gain the hill, but could not. Then two regiments of the enemy's horse, which stood upon our right flank came fiercely upon us, and so surrounded us, that wee were forced to charge upon them in the front and reere, and both flanks, which was performed by us with a great deal of courage and undauntednesse of spirit, insomuch that wee made a great slaughter among them, and forced them to retreat; but presently the two regiments of the enemy's foot in this time gained the hill, and came upon us before wee could well recover ourselves, that we were glad to retreat a little way into the field, till we had rallied up our men, and put them into their former posture, and then came on again. If I should speak any thing in the praise and high commendations of these two regiments of the trained bands, I should rather obscure and darken the glory of that courage and valour God gave unto them this day; they stood like so many stakes against the shot of the cannon, quitting themselves like men of undaunted spirits, even our enemies themselves being judges. It might be expected that something should be spoken of the noble and valiant service performed by the

rest of the regiments of the army both horse and foot; but their courage and valour itself speaks, which was performed by them that day, our men fighting like lions in every place, the great slaughter made amongst the enemies testifies. My noble and valiant Captaine George Massie, who was with the forlorn hope, received a shot in the back from the enemy, of which wound he is since dead. This 26 of September (*hinc illæ lachrymæ*) we lost about sixty or seventy men in our red regiment of the trained bands, besides wounded men, we having the hottest charge from the enemy's cannon of any regiment in the army. Also that worthy and valiant gentleman Capt. Hunt was slain in this battell, whose death is much lamented. These two poore regiments were the very objects of the enemy's battery that day, and they have since made their boast of it. It is conjectured by most, that the enemy lost four for one: seventy chief commanders were slain on their side. This is most certaine, that they did acknowledge themselves to be beaten. It is credibly informed by those that were this day in the king's army, that the king himself brought up a regiment of foot and another of horse into the field, and gave fire to two peeces of ordnance, riding up and down all that day in a souldier's gray coat. The next day I viewed the dead bodies: there lay about one hundred stript naked in that field where our two regiments stood in battalia. This night the enemy conveyed away about thirty cart load of maimed and dead men, as the towne-people credibly reported to us, and I think they might have carried away twenty cart load more of their dead men the next morning; they buried thirty in one pit, fourteen lay dead in one ditch: this battaile continued long; it begun about six o'clock in the morning, and continued till past twelve a'clock at night: in the night the enemy retreated to the towne of Newbury, and drew away all their ordnance; we were in great distresse for water, or any accommodation to refresh our poore souldiers, yet the Lord himselfe sustained us that we did not faint under it; we were right glad to

drink in the same water where our horses did drink, wandering up and downe to seek for it. Our word this day was religion, theirs was Queen Mary in the field: The great goodnesse of God, in giving us victory this day is so much the more remarkable from these three considerations: First, that great disadvantage we had this day, in case we had been beat by the enemy, we having no place of retreat for safety neerer than Glocester, which was above thirty miles: whereas our enemies had possession of Newbury, and in a manner of the whole countrey round about: secondly, we had great scarcitie of provision for our army, having marched many dayes and nights with little food or sleep, or any refreshment; had not God fed us with the bread of our enemies which we took at Ciceter, we could not without a speciall providence of God have been able to subsist, whereas our enemies had the town of Newbury, and the country all about for their relief. Thirdly, we had a great disadvantage by giving battell in that place, the enemy had made choice of their ground, planted their ordnance, gained all advantages they could desire, beside many other disadvantages on our part, which I forbear to relate; yet God gave us the victory, and made our enemies flie before us, that we kept the field all night. The lord generall deserves perpetuall honor by his wise, valiant, and worthy managing of this dayes battle, as also no lesse praise and commendation to the rest of the council of war. Many more particular passages might here be inserted, but I proceed.

Thursday, Sept. 21, after we had buried our dead, we marched from this field with our whole army to a town called the Veal, eleven miles, and four miles from Redding; where in our march this day, our enemy pursuing of us, fell upon our reer in a narrow lane about a mile and halfe from a village called Aldermason; they came upon us with a great body of foot and horse: our London briggade marched in the reer, and a forlorn hope of six hundred muskettiers in the reere of them, besides a great number of our horse: but our

horse which brought up our reere, durst not stand to charge the enemy, but fled, running into the narrow lane, routed our own foot, trampling many of them under their horse feet, crying out to them, "Away, away, every man shift for his life, you are all dead men;" which caused a most strange confusion amongst us. We fired ten or twelve drakes at the enemy, but they came upon us very fiercely, having their foot on the other side of the hedges; many of our waggons were overthrowne and broken: others cut their traces and horse-harnesse, and run away with their horses, leaving their waggons and carriages behind them: our foot fired upon the enemy's horse very bravely, and slew many of them; some report above one hundred and not ten of ours: some that we took prisoners our men were so enraged at them that they knockt out their braines with the butt end of their muskets: in this great distraction and rout a wagon of powder lying in the way overthrowne, some spark of fire or match fell among it, which did much hurt; seven men burnt and two kill'd: the enemy had got two of our drakes in the reer, had not our foot played the men and recovered them againe: this was about four or five o'clock at night; many of our men lost their horses, and other things which they threw away in haste: wee marched on and came to the Veal about ten o'clock at night.

Fryday, Sept. 22, we advanced from the Veal and came to Reading foure miles, where we refreshed our souldiers after our hard service and wearisome marchings. We stayed here Fryday, Saterday, and sabbath day: Saterdag night about twenty of the enemy's horse came and gave us an alarm. Sabbath day was celebrated a day of thanksgiving; we marched away hence on Munday morning.

Monday, Sept. 25, wee advanced from Reading to Madenhead, our briggade was quartered here. But the lord generall with his army and all his train marched to Windsor.

Tuesday, Sept. 26, we advanced from Maidenhead about four o'clock in the morning, having some intention of marching to Lon-

don that night, but came no farther then Brainford, where we stayed the next day also, being fast day.

Thursday, Sept. 28, we marched from Brainford to London, where we were joyfully received home of all our friends, and all that wish well to the parliament; and to the vexation of heart of all wicked malignants who had raised reports that we were all routed and slaine: The lord mayor together with the aldermen of the citie met us at Temple-barr, and entertained us joyfully: many thousands bidding us welcome home, and blessing God for our safe returne: Thus God that called us forth to doe his worke, brought us through many straits, dilivered us from the rage and insolency of our adversaries, made them turne their backes with shame, giving us victory, and causing us to return home joyfully.

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don that night, but came no further than Bristow, where we stayed the next day also, being last day.

Thursday, Sept. 22, we marched from Bristow to London, where we were joyfully received home of all our friends, and all that wish well to the party; and to the vexation of heart of all wicked malignants who had raised reports that we were all routed and slain: The lord mayor together with the aldermen of the city met us at Temple-bar, and entertained us joyfully: many thousands bidding us welcome home, and blessing God for our safe return: Thus God that called us forth to do his work, brought us through many straits, delivered us from the rage and insolency of our adversaries, made them turn their backs with shame, giving us victory, and causing us to return home joyfully.

A

TRUE RELATON

OF

THE SEVERALL PASSAGES WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO OUR ARMY
SINCE IT ADVANCED TOWARDS

GLOCESTER

WITH

THE MANNER OF THE RELIEFE OF THE SAME,

RELATED IN

A LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN THE ARMY, TO AN HONOURABLE
PERSON HERE IN THE CITY.

LIKEWISE

AN ABSTRACT OF SEVERALL REMARKABLE PASSAGES, WHICH HAP-
PENED AT GLOCESTER BETWEEN THE TOWNE AND THE ENEMY IN
THE TIME OF THE SEIGE, COLLECTED BY AN EYE-WITNESSE.

THIS IS LICENCED, AND ENTERED INTO STATIONERS'-HALL BOOK, ACCORDING TO ORDER.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY G. DEXTER, FOR STEPHEN BOWTELL, AT THE SIGNE OF
THE BIBLE IN POPES-HEAD-ALLEY.

ANNO 1643, SEPT. 14.

THE RELATION

THE RELATION

THE SEVERAL FACTS WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO OUR ARMY
SINCE IT ADVANCED TOWARDS

GLoucester

WITH

THE MANNER OF THE RELIEF OF THE SAME.

THESE FACTS ARE HERE SET FORTH IN ORDER TO
REVEAL THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER.

A LETTER FROM A FRIEND IN THE ARMY, TO AN HONOURABLE
PERSON IN THE CITY.

THESE FACTS ARE HERE SET FORTH IN ORDER TO
REVEAL THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER.

AN ABSTRACT OF SEVERAL REMARKABLE PASSAGES, WHICH HAVE
TAKEN PLACE BETWEEN THE TOWN AND THE ARMY.

THE STATE OF THE ARMY, COLLECTED BY AN EYE-WITNESS,
AT THE TIME OF THE RELIEF.

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A
TRUE RELATION

OF THE

**SEVERALL PASSAGES WHICH HAVE HAPPENED TO OUR ARMY,
SINCE IT ADVANCED TOWARDS**

G L O C E S T E R.

SIR,

COLONELL HARVY is for the present so busied in serving of you, as that he cannot serve you in this way of giving an account of his service and therefore to neglect the city he will not: His desire is that by my pen your Honour with the court of militia may receive knowledge of the duty hee adventures and spends himselfe in the kingdomes good. Thus then briefly, of the occurrences in his march from Ockingham to Tame, which in the way befell his cornet, who came off from the enemy by whom he was set upon, his last letter to you gave a sufficient relation: what occurrences since that, worthy our knowledge, have come to hand, shall now offer themselves nakedly to your view: Thus therefore from Tame, the 31 of August, wee advanced to Pusset, thorow and in a faire champian: beyond Sisiter found the lord generall with his whole army drawne up on a very faire greene, where Colonell Manwaring's brigade (consisting of the city trained bands and auxiliaries) first met the lord generall, at which meeting there was such expressions of joy; the Londoners by their showtings and the lord generall by his courteous behaviour, riding with his hat off, bowing to them, which would have ravished any heart almost to have seen it: and the like to Colonel Harvie's brigade. His whole army being thus drawne up

it was indeed a very powerfull strength; he may justly boast it likely enough (God succeeding us) to compasse great designes by. A trumpeter of the king's came the day before (Thursday, and meane) pretending his businesse to be only the procurement of a passe for some lady, though many presumed his intent might be to view the army: when therefore the London brigade under Colonell Manwaring's command was drawne up, the trumpeter brought blindfolded had leave to take sight of those companies only, the lord generall assuring him these were only the Londoners, added to, and no part formerly of his army, and then sent him out of us. He was carryed blinded into the field. This was all the newes of that day, besides that in the evening the horse under my colonell's command received an alarme againe neere Somerton, where they were to quarter that night, being faced by two thousand of the king's horse: all the hurt we received by this was only some hours kept from refreshment, they not daring to adventure on us, and we not able to fall upon them, the hill they had being too high for us to charge upon it in the night, and a strange country, especially from Frithwell two miles off that Somerton, the place our foot quartered in that night; wee marched on Saturday morning towards Awtlebury, and in a field neare to it found the whole army drawne up, which (awhile after we had taken our place with our horse) were commanded off a little way from us, as a reserve to Colonell Middleton, who had been engaged all that day thitherto with a party of the king's, the same we believe that faced us the night before; of which when Colonell Middleton took a lieutenant colonell prisoner, they wheeled off, refusing to skirmish with us; we therefore drew off to Hookenorton, where quartering that night, wee continued our march on the Sabbath day to Cornewall in Oxfordshire; and as wee were on our march the next morning towards Stowe of the Old, the enemy appeared in a bottome neare Enlard, wee being then upon Adlestrap-hill, from whence Colonell Harvy

fired his demi-culverin three or foure times successively: with the first and last shot we conceive we did some execution: upon this the enemy retreated, Colonell Middleton pursuing faced them againe within twice musket shot, drew out a forlorne hope, who at great disadvantage charged upon the enemy, and with the losse of one, shot dead, and some sixe or eight taken prisoners, came off, the enemy retreating.

Two or three houres after, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they faced the London brigade, who were that day part of the van guard, under Colonell Manwaring's command, but upon the discharge of a great gun or two, they wheeled off and the whole army therefore held on their march, quartering that night in the hilly open fields beyond Stowe the Old. Next morning, then after a cold lodging without any refreshment (for the souldiers could not the day before, in all their hard march, get any considerable modicum of bread and beere) wee renewed our march, and held on our way, without any interruption from, or indeed newes of the enemy, till towards evening, from the top of Prestbury hills, two miles short of Chetnam, yet within sight of Gloucester, we discovered in the bottome, a mile from us, severall bodies of the king's horse.

On the nearest of them my lord generall bestowed a demy-culverin, at the noise if not execution thereof, that party wheeled: anon after we perceived a great smoak and fire neare Gloucester, the sight at first a little troubled some, and my lord generall at adventure (that the towne might have notice of our approach) fired foure of his great guns, at which the other bodies of the enemy retreated also: our army being then to march down, my lord generall himselfe led on the forlorne hope, to clear the way for his army to passe downe the hill, and by going downe some steep place, sprained his legge: this done, the army marched for quarter to severall villages adjacent, Colonell Harveye's foot, the London redcoats, and Kentish regiment, drawing off towards Southam, a little village not farre from the

foot of the hill, sideways, which when we were within two or three bow-shoots of my Colonell himselfe, with colonel Sir William Springate, Major Shepheard, and his owne cornet, with myselfe and some few others, out-marcht the foot, the rather indeed that my colonell might (according to his wonted vigilancy) view the avenues before the darknes of the night should overtake him; which while he, with Major Shepheard, were about, Major Bōrne and Captain Buller with their troops (mistaking us for cavaliers) dismounted at our quarter, and by a pistol shot (before we could make them understand who we were) wounded sorely, we fear mortally, Cornet Flesher, and we strongly presumed had pistolled more of us had not my colonell seasonably returning, made knowne himselfe, and so rescued us.

This is all we have to acquaint you with, save that the seige being raised, and the king's forces fled toward Bristol, we are with the whole army about Chetnam, ready to serve our countrey as God shall direct us.

September 6, 1643.

POSTSCRIPT.

This night Colonell Manwaring's brigade could not march downe the hill, and therefore was forced to quarter that night upon the hill, the next morning they marched down the hill into the vale, his excellencie quartered at Chetnam, and the rest of the armie in the adjacent parishes. The enemy having raised his seige on Tuesday in the afternoon, and gone the way that leads to Bristol, wee rested the Thursday: the next day being Fryday, his excellency marched into Glocester, with so many of his army as it could containe, and the rest of the armie quarterd in the adjacent parishes.

AN ABSTRACT OF SEVERALL REMARKABLE PASSAGES WHICH
HAPPENED AT GLOUCESTER, DURING THE SEIGE, COL-
LECTED BY AN EYE-WITNESSE THEREOF.

THE close seige began the tenth of August, 1643, and was raised the fifth of September, during which time there were between three and foure hundred great shot, and above twenty granadoes and as many fiery bullets: which granadoes and fiery bullets did no execution, save only that one woman was killed, and about three others with the great shot: neither were there any maimed, but some few lightly hurt. Most that were killed with their musket-shot, was by looking over the wall at Friars' Orchard, to see their workes. The whole number that was killed on our part in the city we cannot guesse to be above fourty: the losse on their parts we cannot exactly set downe, but by their owne relation there was a list of nine hundred and odde of sicke and maimed souldiers, beside those that were killed*, which (by the report of the countrey, that saw them carried away) were many, some thousands. Many likewise ran away, and more would if the horse had not kept them in. These relations are within compasse.

Reliefe was not heard of untill August 29, that was only this: a messenger of ours saw a letter at Warwicke, which was written from Sir Samuel Luke, to the governour of Warwicke-castle, dated at Twyverd, August 22, to this effect. That he should send two messengers to Glocester, to encourage us to stand out, and that we should have reliefe very speedily; but we perceived none untill we saw their carriages drawne from the leaguer, then firing their huts they marched off with their colours: thereupon our soldiers perceiving the enemy's trenches to bee cleare, they got over the towne wall and spoiled their gallery, and set fire on some of the cannon baskets.

* One that dwelt in the suburbs saw the list, and made report.

A MESSAGE SHOT INTO THE CITY OF GLOUCESTER UPON
AN ARROW.

“These are to let you understand your God Waller hath forsaken you, and hath retired himself to the tower of London: Essex is beaten like a dog: yeelded to the king’s mercy in time, otherwise if we enter per force, no quarter for such trayterly rogues.”

THE ANSWER.

Waller is not our God, in that you lie,
Our God still lives from all eternity.
Though Essex beaten be as you doe say,
Rome’s yoke we are resolv’d not to obey,
But for our cabbages that you have eaten,
Be sure ere long you must be soundly beaten.
Quarter we aske you none if we fall downe,
King Charles shall lose true subjects with the towne.
So saith your best friend if you make timely use of him.

AN EPIGRAM UPON TWO LAWYERS, BELL AND HILL, WHO WERE
SENT INTO GLOUCESTER TO PERSUADE THEM TO YEELD.

Two pettifogging lawyers came of late,
In love to tell us of our present state,
And seem’d to be affected with our straights,
Thinking to worke us out with their deceits:
One speaks as if he had been soundly feed
By the Pope’s agents; and tells us in our need
No hope of helpe; all passages were block’d,
We must deliver, or be soundly knock’d,
The other sayes, armies of strength appeare,
Yet for his life he could not tell us where:
Storme us they would, and that in severall places,
Although as yet they dare not shew their faces.

If storming would not doe, then famine shall,
 We having beefe, they eating cabbage all.
 If none of these will perfect their desire,
 Then without question they'll get all by fire,
 Being sure to do it by some grand granado,
 As erst the Spaniard did with his armado.
 The verdict past amongst the cursed crew,
 Men, women, children, they must taste of rew.
 If we refuse to give them enterance,
 Then all alike after their pipe must dance.
 This was the message: Th' answere thus in short:
 Neighbours, as for your love, we thanke you for't,
 But for your bug-bare threats so huge and big,
 If seven-score cannons can but kill one pig,
 We then have cause to feare nothing but sin
 Can make a breach to let such rebels in:
 We trust in God, whose power can make you quaile,
 Although you make so sure for to prevaile,
 Come when you will, and enter where you can,
 Be sure we'll fight it out to the last man,
 And if for to prevaile it be your fate,
 You'll find we hold our lives at a deare rate.

Bell.

All know full well,
 That every bell
 Is useless till't be hanged,
 And none I hope,
 Denies a rope
 To have his sides well banged.

Hill.

This hill was seen,
 In summer green,
 Fresh, faire and flourishing,
 Now, Proteus-like,
 'Tis altered quite,
 'Tis fading, perishing.

FINIS.

O O

It morning would not do, then I am not all.

We have been, they say, all day.

If none of these will perfect their desire,

Then without question they'll get all by hand.

Being sure to do it by some grand command.

As first the Spaniard did with his armada.

The verdict past amongst the cursed crew,

Men, women, children, they took care of too.

If we refuse to give them our assistance,

Then all alike after their hope must stand.

This was the message: "I'll answer that in hand."

Neighbours, as for your love, we thank you for it.

But for your love, have this as a price and gift.

If seven-score cannons can kill one pig.

We then have cause to leave nothing but sin.

Can make a breach in our walls and in our mind.

We trust in God, whose power can make you whole.

Although you make so sure for to provide.

Come when you will, and enter where you can.

The more we'll fight it out to the last man.

And if for to provide it be your thing,

You'll find we hold our lives as a dear thing.

Well.

All know full well,

That every bell

Is useless till it's rung.

And none I hope,

Denies a rope

To have his sides well hung.

The ladies, however,

Are all the same.

Now, friends-like,

Is altered quite.

The ladies, however,

Are all the same.

A
TRUE RELATION
OF
A WICKED PLOT
INTENDED AND STILL ON FOOT AGAINST THE CITY
OF
GLOCESTER,
TO BETRAY THE SAME INTO THE HANDS OF THE
CAVALIERS.

DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE WHO WAS WROUGHT UPON TO
HAVE BETRAYED THE SAME BY THE SOLLICITATION OF ONE
EDWARD STANFORD ESQUIRE, A GRAND PAPIST
BUT A LIEUTENANT COLONEL AMONGST THE CAVALIERS; AND BY
HIMSELFE SET FORTH TO GIVE THE PARLIAMENT AND HIS
EXCELLENCIE SATISFACTION, AND THE BETTER TO
VINDICATE HIS OWNE INTEGRITY.

TOGETHER WITH SEVERALL LETTERS

FROM MY

LORD DIGBY, AND SIR WILLIAM VAVASOUR

TO

CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE

CONCERNING THE SAID DESIGN.

4, MAIL. 1644.

IT IS THIS DAY ORDERED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR
PRINTING, THAT THIS RELATION BE PRINTED BY EDWARD HUSBANDS.

JO. WHITE.

LONDON,

PRINTED FOR ED. HUSBANDS.

MAY 7. 1644.

TRUE RELATION

A WICKED PLOT

INTENDED AND STILL ON FOOT AGAINST THE CITY

GLOUCESTER

TO BETRAY THE SAME INTO THE HANDS OF THE

CAVALIERS.

DISCOVERED BY CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE WHO WAS BROUGHT UPON TO
HAVE BETRAYED THE SAME BY THE SOLICITATION OF ONE
EDWARD STANFORD ESQUIRE, A GRAND BAPTIST
BUT A LIEUTENANT COLONEL AMONGST THE CAVALIERS; AND BY
REMARKS MADE BY HIM TO GIVE THE PARLIAMENT AND HIS
EXCELLENCY SATISFACTION AND THE BETTER TO
INDICATE HIS OWN INTERESTS.

TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL LETTERS

LORD DIGBY, AND SIR WILLIAM VAUGHAN

CAPTAIN BACKHOUSE

CONCERNING THE SAID DESIGN.

L. MACE. 1644.

IT IS HEREBY ORDERED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR
PRINTING, THAT THIS RELATION BE PRINTED BY EDWARD HORTON.

L. WHITE.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR ED. HORTON.

MAY 1. 1644.

TRUE RELATION

OF

A WICKED PLOT INTENDED, AND STILL ON FOOT AGAINST

THE CITY OF

GLOUCESTER,

TO BETRAY THE SAME INTO THE HANDS OF THE CAVALIERS, &c.

WERE the intentions of our enemies, or the grounds of their practice yet questionable, nay were not their cause already brought to a self-conviction, the manage of their designs, and their constant proceedings are enough to convince the world, or amaze it. Doubtlesse destruction, misery, and desolation must needs be the end of those pathes of fury, malice, treachery, and deliberate cruelty; the whole series of the complotment is like itself; and the enemies of God, and the king, having desperate and horrid intendments, have resolved upon proportionable meanes: for wicked purposes and mischievous counsells can never take effect without the height of iniquity first resolved upon, and if either shame or conscience hath the power to check such an undertaker, he mistaking his principles must needs fall off, or fail in the enterprize. But that cause which is grounded upon truth and righteousness prospers by the same truth. Besides, a just and an honourable action doth abhor the use of such meanes, and a minde truly great and noble will not blemish the bravenesse of his end, and doth rather chuse to be vanquisht, than to gaine an inglorious victory. But malicious guilty persons being conscious of the vilenesse of their ends upon which they are

desperately engaged, have not only hardned their hearts, and steeled their faces against the imputation of the extract of villany, but oftentimes burst out into unnecessary wickednesse, almost to the preventing of their own purposes, by rendring themselves odious to the people, the strength of their malignity scarce permitting them to be true to their own ends.

Thus the condition of the war on their part, forces them upon the wayes of deceit, and violence; the injustice of their cause makes it a bootlesse labour to stand upon honorable atchievements, and their owne violent malice oft times prevents the occasion, and out runnes necessity. Had we to deale with an honourable enemy, the grand interest we have in the publique cause, could not forbid us to love their personall vertues to imbrace their goodnesse.

'Tis base and ignoble to derogate from the worth of an enemy, as none but rogues would have rayled at Hanniball even in Rome: But that party dayly adds to the necessity of their just confusion, when their implacable malice shall urge them to transgresse that common right, which open hostility preserves inviolable.

There is a kinde of deceit, that is commendable; but to conspire against thine adversary with a bosome friend of his, is a part of detestable treacherie, practised by none but such that seek to triumph rather in revenge than glory. For 'tis a point of common justice which every one demands, to be secure among his own, and 'tis the greatest tyranny to inforce them either to accuse or betray. For by this meanes faith and truth is quite lost, and all intercourse between man and man made voyde. Therefore brave men are content to submit when over matched by power or skill; but if betrayed, their hearts can never comply, but carry revenge to their grave. So impatient are we of delusion. Now let themselves judge whether in this case they have not offended against that prime law of nature, *quod tibi fieri non vis alteri ne feceris*. And let them know there have been some so noble as to scorn their tender of treason.

Let this represent to the view of the world the vilenesse of their actions, and in particular the wickednesse of that plot which is discovered in this relation, that all men may detest their courses; that neuters may be roused into zeal against them, and their own novices who are not yet desperately hardened may shrink at the horror of these things, and fall back while there is a possibility of returning.

THE PLOT RUNS THUS :

The 19 day of November last, Master Stanford sent unto me (in whom he conceived he had much interest) by the hands of a good friend of mine, this letter as followeth.

Good Robin, it is not unknown to you that once I loved you, and therefore I send this to advise you, whilst it is in your power to make use of it, and take my word I am confident as yet you may not only have your pardon, but raise yourself a greater fortune, than the condition of those you serve are able to afford you. This you may gaine by the delivery, you may guesse my meaning of what place, which is not hard for you to do. You know the old saying, *Fallere fallentem non est fraus*, this is the advise of him that when you shall desist the cause, will ever be,

Your loving friend, Edward Stanford.

This letter being reade by me, and conferring with the messenger (my friend) who told me, that if I would undertake the same businesse, I should have five thousand pounds for my reward: instantly I went unto the faithfull and worthy governour, and shewed it unto him, and told him from whom it came, by whom, and what reward was proposed, and withall declared my dislike thereof. Whereupon the governor considering thereof, advised to imbrace the businesse, and practice the doctrine propounded in the letter of *fallere fallentem*, &c. and that for these reasons.

1. That the net which they would lay for us, might be a snare unto themselves.

2. That other plots and treacheries against the city might not be contrived, so long as they had a fair probability of prevayling by this.

3. That the country adjacent to the city (which was by the malignant gentry of the county and other evill counsellors) decreed (upon a petition by them preferred unto his majesty) to utter desolation, ruine and depopulation, might by this meanes be preserved, and spared by the enemy in hopes to enjoy the benefit and assistance thereof themselves.

4. That this plot and expectation of the enemy might be procrastinated, and led a long at least till the country had vented in the market their spare provisions of corn and cattell which they then had, and for the doing whereof the time was then at hand.

5. That such their hopes of obtaining the city of Gloucester, thereby occasioning the drawing down of forces thither, might give the parliament forces in other parts of the kingdome, the greater freedome to execute their designes with lesse opposition.

6. That fair promises might allay their fury to the country, till our relief came that we were able to feede them with harder meat, and till winter were past that armies were fit to march.

7. That they might in the end see the cursed and shamefull fruit of such wicked inventions, and their hopelesse aime to prevaile against a citie united, and attempt no more so evill.

8. That the enemy and the world may know that the officers and souldiers in the garrison of Gloucester are not so perfidious as to betray their trust to dishonour themselves to all posterity for any reward whatsoever.

For these and the like reasons, and upon consultation had with some other of the chief officers of the garrison, who approved thereof, I applyed myself to the businesse, without imparting any syllable of

my minde to the messenger, but by giving of this answer to Mr. Stanford's first letter.

SIR,

I am bold to write freely to you by this messenger at this time. I perceive your desire, and I would have you know, that I shall be ready to doe his majestie (whom I protest I honour with my soule) all the reall service I may. But there are two things that I must first propose to you, and have a grant of them. First, sworn secrecy to as many as shall be acquainted with it, (and they must not be many.) Secondly, there must be a messenger between us that may passe to you, and must not be suspected here, (which my friend would be if he should come often) and this messenger must know nothing of our intentions, for which purpose I have sent one now (under my friend's protection) to whom you must procure a free passe under his majestie's hand, he is a fellow trusty to me, and dwells in the suburbs of the town whereby he may come home without suspicion; let me heare from you now by him, and where I may send to you again, and once within ten or twelve dayes you shall heare from me again; before which time I shall consider more seriously of the businesse, and of some more particulars than in so short time as the stay of this messenger can be brought to any maturity. Sir, you know my heart, and be assured, I am and will be, Sir, your humble servant in all I may,

20 Novem. 1643.

Rob. Backhouse.

POSTSCRIPT.

As for the reward you speak of, you know my estate is not great, and therefore I shall desire you as my approved friend to manage it so, as that I may be assured not to play an after game poorly.

This letter being shewed unto the governor, and other officers privy to the businesse, I sent it away to Mr. Stanford to Worcester, who returned me this letter following.

Dated, 27 of Noyem,

P P

2. Letter.

Good Robin, I received much contentment in your private letter, in the desire you expresse to serve the king, which will give me meanes of doing you much good: Your two requests shall be observed, secrecy, and settling a safe meanes for our correspondency. For the first, there shall be no body acquainted with it, but the best friend I have in the world, my Lord Digby, who you may be sure, will be able to performe to you what ever you shall expect for your reward: As when you shall descend to particulars of the service you will do, and what you desire, you shall receive an ingagement from his lordship's owne hands; and therefore I pray you lose no time in proposing; for the meanes of conveying our secrets do you appoint in your next letter by this bearer the convenientest place for you, and there I will have a trusty fellow lie leager to receive your letters, and deliver you mine; and be you confident upon my word, and faith, that you shall not faile in what shall be promised you: I will expect your answer at Worcester, on Wednesday, and lie there on purpose to keepe a correspondence with you.

TO THIS LETTER WAS, BY CONSENT AS FORMERLY, RETURNED
THIS ANSWER.

NOBLE SIR,

The reality I have ever found in you, makes me the more confidently to rely upon you. You writ me of your only best friend, that you will solely acquaint with our intentions; I conceive it must be imparted to some more; for you must devise and set the way amongst yourselves; you know my command is of the horse, by which meanes I may the more easily introduce a force without any suspicion, but whence such force shall come, you must direct, and the commanders of such forces must needs be acquainted with it. Doe you but lay the plot, and be private, and if it take not one way, ere long I question not but it will another; but I doe adventure my life if I should be disclosed, therefore I desire all secrecie.

And when I heare from you againe, I shall returne you an answer by this bearer, which I thinke will be least suspected of any if he may but come freely to you.

29 Novemb.

Sir, Your reall Servant.

THE FIRST OF DECEMBER, THAT NO TIME MIGHT BE LOST, I

RECEIVED FROM WORCESTER THIS THIRD LETTER

FROM THE SAME MASTER STANFORD.

3 Letter.

Deare Robin, be confident I will be as secret as you can desire, and the officers themselves shall not know the designe. Now I shall desire you to propound some particulars which way you think most probable, and leave us alone for the drawing downe of forces; I shall expect a sudden returne of this bearer with some particulars: so in hast I rest.

Your assured loving friend.

POSTSCRIPT.

I shall desire you to propose the way, it being farre easier for you to set it downe, than for us to imagine it; and for your conditions, name them, and I will undertake they shall be performed.

To this letter, to make them the more confident, and the better to accomplish our designes, this answer was given.

NOBLE SIR,

I have considered of your last; by which you desire my conceit in proposall of particular propositions, and of my reward, to both which I shall thus propose unto you to present to more mature judgements.

1. Whether I may not by drawing out my troope in an evening (as I can doe at any time) meet with your forces, and bring them in upon a sudden in a moone-shine night at the gate, and so master the first guard, which may easily be done, and not discerned till too late, my troope being above sixty, who may be all in the reare and at your mercy, though I might myselfe lead in the force, which cannot give the alarum in the night so soone as to prevent the design.

2. Whether if I perswade the governour to draw out a strong party of foot and horse, upon some designe to lye out all night, eight or ten miles distant from the garrison, (as I know I can doe) and I myselfe stay at home, in whose absence you may safely advance in the evening to the towne side, when I can come out to you, and so bring you in under colour of our owne forces.

3. Whether if I find out a place slenderly guarded, and somewhat easie to come in at, I may not draw off the centries upon some pretence (as I can doe) being known to them all, and there direct your entrance.

4. Whether if I send for hay, and give you notice of the very time of its coming in, which must be in the night, I may not after the carts bring in some men as carters, who may have snaphance musquets in the carts, and some dragoones to fall in, in the very reare of the carts, who may master the first guards, and possesse the ordnance there, and so let in both horse, and foote, who with such ordnance may march through all the streets in towne.

These severall waies I propose for the present, but I conceive that those who have been versed in the taking of townes, or are better read in surprisalls of garrisons may make more choise of propositions; any of which if I apprehend it feazible, I shall gladly undertake or render my reason of dislike if I conceive it not so. But Sir, I must once more conjure you by all the bonds of ancient affection that ever were between us, and as you desire the progresse of

the designe, that you be carefull to whom you impart this great secret; for if it should be known or suspected in me, I shall be utterly ruined, and undone. This very letter adventures my necke, as for my reward I am right sensible of how great concernment the businesse is unto your side; and albeit you know it is utterly against my spirit to indent before hand for my reward, especially with so gallant and noble personages, yet the straites for mony that of late I have been put unto, having as yet received no pay at all for myselfe from those I serve, and the condition of my estate and charge considered bids me a little looke to that: I was told of five thousand pounds, that should be given me, I shall only expect two thousand pounds to be secured, two or three hundred whereof I shall desire you as my friend to procure me in hand as soon as may be, that thereby I may be enabled to beare up my port and credit, especially amongst all the common souldiers and under officers of the garrison, to whom I must be open handed to ingage affection, that they may readily open when I call at any time. Secondly to engage mine owne troope, and to bind such unto me with a silver cord as I shall find fittest for my purpose. And thirdly plentifully to reward intercouersers between me and you, or me and such others as you shall appoint, who may execute my command upon a sudden with all celerity and fidelity. These things I shall thus leave unto your consideration and mannage, but assuredly know that I shall be, sir, your servant with all fidelity I may,

Robert Backhouse.

POSTSCRIPT.

If you take care that the messenger passe but safe to Tewkesbury, you may send any thing by him very safely, and I hope ere long you and I may meet to discourse it when all the world shall not know.

7 Decemb. 1643.

This letter being sent, gave Mr. Stanford such hopes of prevail-

ing in his designe that it went to Oxford, as afterwards appeared, but in the interim I received this letter from him.

4th Letter.

On Friday let this messenger come to Worcester, and by him you shall receive backe an answer of your particulars. But by him I would have you send me word which way you would have the monies conveyed to you, and I doubt not but shortly to see you a very happy man. As for the summe you require, Bullie [*a manour neere Gloucester of his*] shall make it good, but you may take my word, for I promise you, I will see it paid in ready money.

12 Decemb. E. S.

I doubt not but the parliament will in time make this gentleman to make good his promise in this letter; on the 15th of December I sent this letter following.

NOBLE SIR,

I have sent this messenger according to your desire, and shall expect to heare from you by him. And whereas you desire to know how to convey any money to me, this bearer is as true as steele, and if he come but secure to Tewksbury, there is no danger on this side; he may bring any summe in gold with ease and safety. Thus in haste for present I take leave and rest, Sir: Your reall servant with child till I can handsomely see you. R. B.

To this letter I expected a full answer, and of my former, but that was not fully ripened at Oxford, but he returned me this answer by my messenger.

5th Letter.

Deare Robin, if you will make yourselfe a fortune, performe really what you have promised, for others may hereafter on the same

conditions be glad to make good your offers ; this I doe not speake that I doubt you in any thing, but you know there is no love without some jealousie ; as for our meeting I will not faile, for I am confident you have no plot on me : But I cannot appoint it till I see this bearer again, which without fail must be on Tuesday next, and then I myself will march neerer your quarters, for I doe long to have businesse finished, that we may, as we were once, be fellow subjects merry together, and by his returne you shall receive a full satisfaction according to your own desires, which I will be confident are as honest as once I found them.

Friday, 10 of the clocke.

To this letter no answer was returned, but I sent my messenger to Worcester according to his desire, by whom I received these two letters.

6th Letter.

Deare Robin : this inclosed I am very confident will be very satisfactory to you, and let me tell you if you prove but reall in what you have promised, you cannot propose to yourselfe a greater happiness, than I am confident you may purchase, by really performing of what you have promised. On Sunday I shall desire to have an answer of this inclosed, that I may as soone as it is possible effect a meeting, for beleve me it is equally wished by him that covets to be

Your loving friend, E. S.

L. Digbye's
Letter.

The inclosed letter was ;

Sir: you having so farre declared your desires to serve his majesty unto my very good friend Mr. Stanford, I thinke it fit you should now receive some more authenticke assurance of his majestie's gracious acceptance thereof, than perhaps you will thinke his

bare ingagement to be ; therefore I do here solemnly ingage my word unto you, both as a minister of state, and as a gentleman, that if you shall perform faithfully what you promise there, you shall punctually receive immediatly after, such a pardon as yourselfe shall desire, and the summe of two thousand pounds. As for the three hundred pounds, which you desire in present, such a confidence I will have in your word, that as soone as ever I shall have received your answer to this under your hand, it shall be forthwith payed into what place soever you shall appoint, or to what person. As for the particular waies of effecting our designe, those you propose are very rationall, but the choise and disposition of that must be between you, and those who are to execute it, with whom if it were possible you should procure a meeting at some unsuspected place ; I doe propose unto you your choise of severall men, and whom of them you shall like best, and thinke fittest by reason of the place where his command is to him alone, and no other businesse shall be imparted, whether Sir William Vavasour commander in chiefe of the forces now in Gloucestershire, or Colonell Mynne commander of a brigade of the English come out of Ireland, or Colonell Washington, who is at Evesham ; or lastly whether the governour of Berkly Castle ; as soone as you shall send me an answer, you shall receive satisfaction from him, who hopes you will so behave yourselfe, as to make me,

Your assured friend,

Oxford this 14th of Decemb. 1643.

George Digby.

Thus may the world see how ignoble this lord will ingage his honour and person, to insinuate into his majestie's favour to ruine a kingdome, to betray a city, and many thousand innocent soules into mercilesse hands, and to make me (a man he never saw, or he cares not whom) the trayterous actor thereof ; well, to this letter, by consent, as before, was given this answer.

MY HONOURED LORD,

I have received your lordship's, and have considered thereof; and your lordship's directions suits with what I wrote unto Master Stanford in one of my late letters to him, (viz.) That the commander of such forces as are to come in, must of necessity be privie to the designe. As touching the choice your lordship proposeth to me, I conceive that Sir William Vavasour will be the fittest man.

1. First, because he is the neerest in his command unto the businesse, Colonell Mynne is twenty miles off (lying then at Thornbury) Colonell Washington the like (then at Evesham), the governor of Berkly fifteen, and of an inconsiderable strength there, but Sir William Vavasour's forces lye not above twelve miles distant (then at Ledbury) and hath strength enough of his own.

2. He may best come to the garrison undiscovered, there being towards his quarters no suburbs or houses neer to the town, nor other out-guards or smaller garrisons in his way, whereby to give any alarum. If I hear by Mr. Stanford from him, when will be a fit time for him, I shall upon a very few dayes notice, comply with his expectation, as Mr. Stanford and I shall agree upon all circumstances, with whom I hope to speak ere long. Thus much I thought fit to acquaint your honour, and rest

My lord, your honour's most humble servant,

28 Decemb. 1643.

R. B.

AT THE SAME TIME WAS SENT TO MR. STANFORD, THIS

ANSWER TO HIS LETTER.

SIR,

Since I received your letter, I have received a wound, by a shot in my hand, which hath so pestered me, that I could not write unto you sooner, I have written to the noble Lord Digby my opinion, as by the inclosed you may perceive. Sir, I cannot suddenly ride far,

Q Q

but if you please to come either to Ledbury, or to Sir John Winter's quarters, you may then in any evening meet me in Corslane, the middle way between this garrison and Ledbury, where you and I may meet, and the moon not know thereof, if you so think fit, and shall appoint an hour, I shall not misse you a minute, for into your hands I dare throw myself with freedom, though I shall be loath to trust any other I know not, either with my person or secret. Sir, as for my satisfaction, I am satisfied with my lord's ingagement for the main, and I shall expect the three hundred pounds promised in hand (for the reasons in my last letter expressed) to be sent me by this bearer, with whom you may in this case send a convoy of eight or ten good horses as far as Corslane without any fear of us, and then it will be sure to be safe. Sir, I refer the busines to your manage, assuring you confidently that I am your most humble servant,

R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I beseech you be carefull of these letters, and as secret as the night, or I must perish miserably.

These two letters being dispatcht away to Worcester, they wrought, according to our desires, a belief and hopes of my reallity to accomplish their wicked designe.

Whereupon, January the second, I received this letter following from Master Stanford.

The seventh Letter.

Dear Robin, I am so desirous of your good, which is only to be effected by your promises, that I am a little fearfull of doing any act, till it have been debated, twice or thrice between us, least it may hinder the good service you intend; and I am confident you absolutely resolve to perform; and be assured this, it is not in your power to oblige them you serve, to gain so much for your own

advantage as you may the king, by going through with this businesse, nor are they in a condition, thanks be to God, able scarce to promise you so great rewards as here you shall assuredly receive. Now, dear Robin, I shall tell you my minde, first, concerning the moneys, I conceive it most unsafe, and wholly unnecessary, for it is impossible he should bring it safe without a convoy, the greatest part of the way, and how easie that may be discovered, I leave to you to judge.

Secondly, you cannot dispose of it to them you intended without discovery, the businesse being suddenly to be executed; the moneys I have ready, but I think it fitter to pay it to some friend of yours, according to your directions, by way of return, but for fifty or one hundred pounds, I think we may venture it; and if it be taken, you may pretend you are to send me a coach and horses for it.

Thirdly, for my meeting you, it will be unnecessary, till Sir William Vavasour return from Bristoll with more forces.

Fourthly, that you must appoint some other place for our meeting, in regard of Sir John Winter's lying at Newnham.

This is the opinion of him that will ever be your affectionate friend,

E. S. 2 Jan. 1643.

TO THIS LETTER WAS GIVEN THIS ANSWER.

DEAR SIR,

I sent on Wednesday last to you, but heare is nothing of the messenger, I fear his taking, which if it should be, I pray your care for his enlargement.

You writ me, that you conceive it unnecessary as yet to meet mee, and the place unfit; any place is indifferent to me; but that place from Ledbury is an indifferent place, and free from suspicion, either by day or by night, that therefore I shall leave to you when and where to meete; I will bring no soule with me, but ride

without sword or pistoll as to take the ayre, let your care be to preserve me from any of your scouts, for I must ride from any two or more that I shall see, but I shall be glad to see you; as for the three hundred pounds, you writ me word you have it. Sir, I must tell you, that since this businesse hath been working in my head (which I have pretty well perfected now) I have been inforced to take up money at a hard hand to doe the things I intended. And it is impossible that you can imagine the sundry waies that I have layed in my head, and partly put in action to further and prepare mine owne secret intentions. And truely Sir, I must tell you, the money is so necessary to me, that next unto my fidelity, promise, and ingagement to my Lord Digby, and yourselfe, it is the chiefe moving wheele; and if there be the least jealousie of my fidelity, I shall desire you (as my truest friend in the world) to let me know, and then I shall crave only favour to have all papers burnt, my counsells kept, liberty to bewaile mine owne unhappinesse, and that I may serve them and you in some other businesse of lesser trust, wherein mine integrity may more appeare with lesse suspition. If the summe I desire in hand, be thought too great an adventure, I would have you consider mine adventure, the least line of any of my letters being sufficient to have me hanged; and this I have and must commit into severall men's bosomes whom I never saw, but build my faith upon your judgement and integrity, without any jealousie or feare, which I should not doe, were you not Master Stanford; for that which you write of the danger in the passage, how easie a matter will it be for you to command a dozen honest men to ride a long almost to Tewksbury to guard a little money, that you may pretend you are sending to pay to save the forfeiture of a morgage. And if you appoint but the day, how easie is it to me to send my troope to Tewksbury to meete a little money, which is to be paid unto me upon a bond. I'll stand to the hazard on our side, and I know you may secure it on yours. Well, I leave the

businessse to your consideration, but for myself, I am devoted to your service, whilst I am,

ed R. B. 3 Jan. 1643.

About 7th Jan. Master Stanford sent me a message by the friend who brought the first letter to me, by word of mouth, to meete him in Corselane the day following, where accordingly we met; my lieutenant scouting behind me the while, to prevent my own surprisall; where I received two hundred pounds of him, and his promise to discharge me of a bond of fifty pounds, wherein I was formerly bound to one Font a great papist, and a very friend of his. At which time the plot was layed by him, Sir Will. Vavasour and others, who were then lately come to Tewksbury; that I should endeavour to draw the governour out of the garrison with a very strong party, towards Berkley, with assurance that the castle should be rendred, which Master Stanford told me should really be, so that the gaining of Glocester might be the more facile, in whose absence I must undertake to get the gate opened, and the word delivered to them; which plot when I heard it proposed, I much approved, but withall I advised that the forces might suddenly be drawn off from Tewksbury, assuring him that whilst they lay there, I should not be able to draw out the governour, which he promised should be done, as soone as he spake with Sir William Vavasour. This plot if it had beene thus prosecuted by them, had beene by God's mercy of great gaine to us. For we thereupon resolved to have sent a garrison into Berkley Castle, and with silent forces from Presbury garrison to have possessed Tewksbury, and by speedy retreating to have made that good also. But it so fell out, that they fell off and deserted their owne plot, as will appeare by the sequell. But one thing was remarkable, that at this meeting, Master Stanford never so much as moved me to any asseveration of fidelity to him, but desired me to send unto him within two dayes, which I did as followeth.

SIR,

I have sent according to my promise, but the governour is so intent and serious in wayting upon the forces at Tewksbury, that until they be removed, it will be vaine to move him to draw out any other way, but when they are marcht a day or two I am confident, that I shall perswade his march to Berkley, especially if he may have any assurance of their rendring the castle (which you told me would be) and which will occasion him to stay a day or two to settle the same, who otherwise (out of his care of Gloucester) is apt, and wont to make speedy retreats when he is abroad. Sir, if you come to Newnham towards Saturday or Sunday, Sir John Winter may send you in a man to me to appoint when I may meete you in Huntley's wood, or on the hill beyond Huntley, after you have conferred with him, whose secresie I shall desire you much to engage, and then I shall agree more fully with you on all circumstances; Sir, I beseech you know and rest assured that I am,

Your most humble servant in much care till, &c.

11 Jan. 1643.

TO WHICH LETTER I RECEIVED THIS ANSWER.

Deare Robin, the reason why you have stayed so long for an answer is this; Sir William Vavasour sent to the governour of Berkley castle to draw out his whole garrison, which he refusing to do without the king's or prince's speciall command; we shall now flye to one of your former propositions, being confident you will not faile to make good any one of them, which was that you would at any time draw out your own troop with one more which shall be put in the reare of our horse, and yourself to leade our forlorne hope into the town, which if you will do, send but this messenger with a note to Sir William Vavasour what day you will meete him, and I will not faile to be there, this you must be sure to do on Wednesday next, for the businesse will admit of no delay.

Your's E. S. 16 Jan.

WITH THIS LETTER I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM
VAVASOUR AS FOLLOWETH.

Sir William Vavasour's first Letter.

Sir, I was so confident of your reallity in endeavouring to performe what you have undertaken, that I immediately sent orders to Berkley castle to the governor, who wil not obey my orders so fully as to draw out the whole garrison without his majestie's special orders, a great part he will, but would have a reason; I have drawn great part of the foote towards Parshoe, and endeavoured to have marched with the residue, and all the horse. But Sir Walter Pye, and some other commissioners were so opposite to it, that unlesse they might know, and approve of my designe, they would not consent to it, which I thought might be a dis-service to you; I have quite left them unsatisfied with what I intended, so that Sir Walter Pye is gone to Oxford with a great complaint, but that is nothing, did it not prevent your motion; so that now, Sir, I must intreate you to follow what you first moved, that is, you draw out of town your own troop, or one more if you can, a good distance from town, you having the word may lead on the forlorne hope, and your horse may bring up the reare; the performance of this will confirme your friends in their good opinions of you, and oblige me to expresse myself,

Your humble servant, Will. Vavasour.

Tewksbury, 16 Jan. 1643.

Thus you see how Sir William Vavasour, a man of renown, as fame would render him, can smoothly insinuate to promote so foule a treachery, and would make me beleieve that he will rather hazard a chiding by the king, and the displeasure of many other gentlemen of worth, his very friends, than that any soule should be privy to so great a secret. Not imagining that I well knew long before, that not

only the Lord Digby, Master Stanford, Sir John Winter, Master Dutton, and the whole counsell of war at Tewksbury: nay the whole court at Oxford were acquainted with the designe, but also (for so closely did they carry this businesse, which was of so great consequence to them) that Brittanicus hath blazoned me in print long since for a traitor, and well he might, had all that they have let fall and divulged been really true. By which passages, by the way, let all false hearted traytors, who for base private ends would faine be tampering with the enemie to betray their trusts, take heede what they do; for they cannot keepe secrets. And yet they are so wise (do them right) as never to trust him in any office or place of charge for them, who for any respect hath been drawn to infidelity and breach of trust by them: But to proceede, the next day after the receipt of Sir William Vavasour's letter, with whom now I must as with my Lord Digby, keep correspondency; I gave him this answer.

SIR,

I am sorry to heare that our intentions should be so frustrated, especially since I had so far proceeded in mine own thoughts in the mannage thereof. And I'll assure you, I still finde the governour so diligent in observing the garrison at Tewksbury, that he hath given private commands to the officers both of horse and foote, to be instantly ready upon notice given of your least advance this way, for which purpose he constantly day and night keepes good parties of horse out as scouts to bring him notice; insomuch that I feare it will be impossible for my troop and your forces to joyn without discovery; which how dangerous that may be unto us both, I leave to you to judge, especially when he and all his strength be at home: did not his eyes so much look upon your strength, and the neerenesse of your quarters, then would the proposition you now fall on be far easier effected and with much more safety. For as I shall be glad to

confirme the good opinion my friends have of me, in really performing what I have undertaken, being confident that they will take care of me, who thus often hazard my life and fortune for them, so shall I be infinite loath to draw them on upon any designe that may prove prejudiciall to them, the right laying of the businesse is the life thereof, the miscarriage the utter destruction both of myself and many of them, besides the utter losse of effecting so good, and so great a businesse; wherein I protest I shall thinke my self happy to sacrifice my life to accomplish the same according to my desires. One mis-feazance in a businesse of this nature is never to be repaired. Therefore upon the whole matter this is my opinion, that it will be most necessary that the governour be drawn out with a good partie when the businesse is to be done, I am sure this will be with more safety on your side, especially if the allarm should be suddenly taken; this will scarce be done unlesse your forces draw out of Tewksbury for the reason aforesaid, which they may do towards Ledbury, and be neere enough to do the businesse, and so enter on the best [best for us I meane] side of the town, as I have formerly written, and then could I give him some private information that I have intelligence that Berkley will render (though they remove not) and so draw him out in whose absence (since my hand is still lame) I must keepe home, and then shall have absolute command of the horse, best for scouts, and shall be able with more facility and safety to do the businesse with as much speed as you please. I desire you to consider thereof, for I shall not be out of care till I see it perfected, and that my good friends [the parliament I meane] may have further experience of my fidelity, and that I may ever be,

17. Jan. 1643.

Your servant, R. B.

POSTSCRIPT.

Sir, I beseech you be infinite carefull to whom the businesse be imparted, and let me in charity before hand be-speak you, that as

R R

little towns-men's blood may be spilt in the entrie as may be, it will be better drawn after where cause is.

This letter wrought the end for which we sent it to draw them on at the west-gate, and best gate for our advantage, and to perswade them of my reallitie to them.

Upon receite whereof, Sir William Vavasour sent me this letter.

Sir William Vavasour's second Letter.

SIR,

I have received yours, and am very inclinable to your motion of drawing towards Ledbury, a place more feazible for me to draw my men to, than any other, it being within the associated counties, the commissioners cannot pretend against it; but we must have a little patience untill the contribution monies are brought in, for my men are very apt to mutinie, and indeede will not march without money. I shall with all possible conveniencie send to you, and give you a further account of it, as also that I am, Sir,

19. Jan. 1643. Your most affectionated servant, W. Va.

After the receipt of this letter, I waited to heare from them till the fourth of Feb. at which time I received these two letters following.

Master Stanford's Letter.

Dear Robin, now we are come to try you, and if you love your self faile not in what you have promised, for if you do, beleeeve it, you are ruined for ever. And if you intend really, give me notice by this bearer of all particulars concerning your town, in what condition it now stands, and in so doing you will prove your self that which I ever wished you, and regaine me to be,

Your friend as once I was reall, Edward Stanford.

Sir William Vavasour's Letter.

Sir, I am so confident of your reall intentions, that I am willing to follow your advice as far as in me lyeth. Sir William Waller is grown so strong, that we must attempt something out of hand, if you will order it so that I may have the port on the Welsh opened to me; I having the word, will come with so considerable a force, that I will venture to make it good against all Massie's forces, they not taking the allarum. Friday or Sunday next will be a convenient time, my men are faine to march into the country for subsistance.

W. Vavasour.

Upon the receipt of these letters, the next newes we heard was, that Colonell Mynne and S. Leger with the Irish forces marcht to Paynswicke for subsistance, but indeed to plunder the country; to prevent which our governour drew out a party of horse and foote, where there was a skirmish, and some losse on both sides, the next day after which, the country of Whitestone hundred rose into a great body, and the enemy hearing thereof, retreated that very day towards Tewkesbury againe. This by the way, but to these two letters I sent this answer by approbation as before, unto Master Stanford and Sir William Vavasour.

5. Feb. 1643.

Sir: you writ unto me for the state of this garrison, which I shall render you as neere as I can. First, the governour lyes at the house where I dwelt, and one captain with him; before whose doore are two drakes, and a centry day and night; the great gunnes left by my Lord Generall the Earle of Essex, are at the maine guard neere the crosse before the bell doore, being three in number, and there are severall other small cutts about the crosse, in which maine guard there are or should be every night, about one hundred men, some citizens of the trained bands, and some selected men

out of every company. Thus for the heart of the towne. Now for the ports, the governour is making of three sconces, one before the east gate, another before the north gate, and the third at the Fryer's orchard, where the batterie was made at the time of the siege; all of very great strength, but they are none of them as yet finished: there are at these ports severall gunnes (viz.) at the north gate two, at the inward north gate three, at the east gate one, and sometimes two, at the south gate two, to which gate also the maine guard is very neere; but it is usuall with the governour to remove the gunnes often from one place to another. There are also other gunnes upon the workes about the towne, and at the key, where also the frigot lyes with a guard in her; as for the west gate, there is also one gunne, a demy-culvering, but no cannoneer, that watcheth her as I could ever find, and as yet no draw-bridge, but at all the other gates there are draw-bridges finished, and we are now making draw-bridges for the west gate, and Overs-bridge, which I beleieve will not be finished yet this ten or twelve daies, the guards are generally carelesse, and many run from their duty to drinking, much discontent being amongst both officers and souldiers for want of pay; and indeed the guards are very weake in comparison of what they have beene, and must needs be so, as long as we keepe so many out-garrisons, as Presbury, Boddington, Huntley, Wesbury, Arlingham, Frampton, Essington, Froster, Horsley, and Lippiat; all which garrisons being now kept, have drawne out a great number of the souldiers out of this. As for provisions and ammunition, I have not beene in the granery since the siege, but to deale truely with you, I verily beleieve the garrison is fitted for sixe moneths; for, the corne of Master Guyse, Master Dobbs, Sir Henry Spillar, Sir Ralph Dutton, and others whom we call malignants, was brought in, indeed by my self; and since the country hath brought much corne into private houses. I know two men who have laid in two thousand bushells here, and the governour made a strict proclama-

tion, that all the citizens should make provision for six moneths, many of whom have done so, and they make powder and match every weeke as much or more than they spend. Thus have I given you a short and true relation of the condition of this garrison, as neere as I can for the present thinke on, and shall be ready to satisfie you in any other thing you shall desire by the next, beseeching you to continue secresie above all things, and not to conceive any jealousie in his performance, who shall not think himselfe happy till he see his ingagement really accomlisht and discharged, and who hath hitherto throwed himselfe into your hands, and resolves to rely on you in time to come both for his life and fortune.

Sir, ever your many waies obliged servant, R. B.

5 Feb. 1643.

With this letter I sent one also to Sir William Vavasour, as followeth.

NOBLE SIR,

I shall apply myselfe unto your time with all diligence; I have given Master Stanford an accompt of the state and condition of our garrison. By the time proposed in your letter I hope the water will be downe, which will much advantage your advance neere the towne; I shall not desire to defer it longer then the time pitcht on. As for your owne occasions, so for the making of drawbridges in your passage, which I would not have to be any impediment thereto; for when they are made, guards will be set at them, which may give the allarum before the gate can be opened. Consult together for your owne safeties and mine; only be private, and for the opening of the gate, and the word, leave it to me, and rest assured that I shall be

Sir, your servant, R. B.

These two letters answered the end for which they were intended, to beget beleefe of my fidelity to them, to make them the more confi-

dent to come on (which indeed was our chieftest care) and to answer their desire of knowing the condition of our garrison, which notwithstanding it was done as you perceive, yet so as without prejudice to ourselves, the least boy that comes into our towne, being in most of the relations able to satisfie as much. Thus let the enemies to religion, to the lawes and liberties of this famous kingdome, and to the priviledges thereof, be still deluded, but let God's just and righteous cause ever prosper.

That these letters were well taken by the enemy, appeares by Master Stanford's next letter as followeth.

Deare Robin, I thanke thee for thy constancy, and doubt not of your preseverance in doing his majesty acceptable service. Sir William Vavasour bid me tell you that he cannot be ready on Friday, or Saturday, in regard his forces are not yet marcht hither, but are on their way, where they must halt two or three dayes till monies come in, however upon Sunday or Munday we shall not faile to be within a daye's march of Gloucester. And you must be sure to send the same messenger to us who may easily finde us out. On Sunday faile not of this, for I long to see you. On Sunday without faile we shall be at Ledbury, and expect your man.

Yours, E. S. 6th. Feb.

My man who brought this letter told me of Master Stanford's desire to a handsome gelding that I had, whereupon to make him the more confident, and to perswade them to come on, I sent him that gelding with this letter, the next day after that arch-traitor Captaine Davis had betrayed the small garrisons of Wesbury, and Huntley unto the cavaliers.

Sir, I congratulate your good successe yesterday at Wesbury and Huntley, and doubt not ere long to see this county in a good

and peaceable condition. I observe businesses prosper best where least blood is spilt. My man told me of your desire to my gelding, I have sent him with cheerefulness, wishing him better for you, though it need not if he be well used. And I referre my coach and horses for you also; against the time I shall observe your directions by the returne of my man, and rest ever,

Sir, your most humble servant in great care as yet, R. B.

I received no answer to this letter from Master Stanford, but thanks for my gelding, and directions to my man to come from Worcester, where he then was, to Sir William Vavasour to Tewksbury, from whom I received this letter, dated 10th Feb.

Sir, I will be in the forest side on Tuesday next, where I will be either at Newent or thereabouts; if you direct your servant to me, or to Sir John Winter, for whose secrecie I will answer to you, and observe any directions you will send me, if you cannot conveniently meet me, which I must desire,

Yours, William Vavasour.

On Tuesday following, according to the direction of Sir William Vavasour's letters I sent this letter to Master Stanford.

SIR,

In the whole progresse of the businesse, I have not been put unto it as now to fulfill your expectation in sending to you my man, who was last with you, was so affrighted, being knowne by your scouts when he came last from you, that he dares goe no more; how to get another willing and faithfull I know not. But hearing the governour say he must send to Sir William Vavasour about prisoners, and his trumpet being sicke, I tooke advantage thereof to send mine, and have sent this to you under pretence of exchanging a trooper of mine in Oxford, one Henry Hullins; I received a letter

from Sir William Vavasour by my man, but none from you, and have sent according to his desire. If you march to Newent as he wrote, it cannot be better, for from thence may you march to Upleaden, and by Rudfor and give no alarum to Churcham, and send but a troop to possesse Overs-bridge, that intelligence come not, and then may you passe cleerly undiscovered, so as you be there before the centries or the guard at that bridge be set, neither of which are done before about nine of the clock at any time. I every night as commander of all the horse of late, have sent out scoutes, some towards Tewksbury, and some towards Huntley, and the forrest, and can have the keyes at my command to let them out, which hath occasioned me to think on this way, if you like it, that I may provide scouts out of mine owne troope to goe towards the forrest, that night you appoint, who shall not be ready till the business be done. But I can take the keyes of the west gate and goe downe thither, pretending to stay for their comming, and set the guard, which as I wrot is very slender usually, to drinke in an ale-house till they come in, which time you may advance, and finde no living soule but myself at the gate, or if one or two should be there, they shall be drunk, and you may pretend, as I shall also affirme, that you are our owne men from Churcham, where there is a small guard of horse and foote, and which if you disturbe not, will continue there yet a while; I would gladly meete Sir William Vavasour, but I am very fearefull of notice being taken of me; and if I should meete him, I know not him, nor he me, which may prove prejudiciall to either of us, if you desire to be satisfied in any thing, I thinke I could meet you in the old place without any notice, and I dare adventure on my knowledge of you at an escaping distance. For the word, when we meete I will shew you a place, where (after it is given) you shall finde it in a parchment faire written. This I think will be very feazible; but I shall be ready, as you shall prescribe, to doe any thing in the power of

13 Feb. 1643.

Your most humble servant, R. B.

Let my trumpeter know nothing but of the exchange, but wish him to deliver any thing you send to me, to mine owne hand, which I know he will be carefull in. With this letter my trumpeter was stayed by Colonell Paget, from Tuesday 13 Feb. till Thursday, upon pretence that he came too late into his garrison. On Thursday morning I sent to Newent to Mr. Stanford this letter.

Sir, I wrote a letter to you by my trumpeter, who went to Tewksbury on Tuesday, I perceive he is there stayed, which puts me in feare; I would desire you suddenly to send for him, and I shall meete you at what house you shall appoint in the old place, the more speed you make now the better, as before the draw-bridges be up, so for our waiting on you, which as yet we doe not, scarce knowing that any force considerable is come to Newent; the stiller you lye the more secure shall we be. The plot I prescribe in my letter runs more and more feazible in my head, I could last night have done it gallantly, I doubt not of as faire an opportunity to expresse myselfe indeed,

Your reall servant, R. B.

This plot I prescribed as well to secure mine owne person within the gates, as to render it probable unto them, which it seemes they could not dislike, for that very day they sent backe my messenger from Newent to me againe with this letter.

Deare Robin, the time is now so far spent, that it is impossible for me to meet you, this night being resolved for the businesse, so that you must not faile this night to draw off all your guards from the bridge, that we may come secure to the gate, and not have any centries to hinder us, and withall you must be sure to let me heare from you this night by six of the clock, as for our strength we are now fifteene hundred foot and horse, if you can come yourself with

your troop, pretending to beate up a horse quarter, it would be very satisfactory to Sir William Vavasour; you must be there by eight of the clock, but this we shall not presse, if you think it inconvenient, howsoever you must send the word, being assured you will do your best to advance this design, E. S.

Immediately as soone as I had received this letter I went to the governour, and a consultation we had, whether to let them come that night according to their appointment, or to put it off. But we being provided for them, it was agreed upon that night, I therefore presently sent this letter to Master Stanford.

Sir, I shall waite with diligence to open the gate, which I'll warrant you shall be done, so as you come by nine of the clock, or within half an houre after, the word I have sent, which occasions the later sending of this bearer, it is Bristoll: Be sure to come strong enough, and remember to come up by the bare land, which is a safer way to surprize the maine guard, than to come up the maine streete: some in your company cannot but know the way, I rest in hope.

15 Feb. 1643.

Your servant, R. B.

Presently after the sending away of which messenger, the gates being shut round the garrison, and carefull sentinels set. The governour called a counsell of war, acquainted all the officers with the plot, gave order that all as well citizens as souldiers should continue that night in armes, drew three peeces of ordnance to the west-gate, and a strong guard of musquetiers well provided with granadoes and ammunition, and placed foure stout men in a boat under Overs' bridge, who lay under the arch private, with directions that upon fireing the first gun they should but cut a gable-rope, which being done, the bridge would have fallen in, whereby (by God's mercy) of necessity they must all have been killed, drowned, or taken, there

being no possible meanes in humane reason of a man's escape, in this posture, preparation, and expectation, we continued all that night watching diligently, but privately, for a happy time to have delivered ourselves, and the whole kingdome from the future mischiefe of such subtile, insinuating, and blood-thirsty enemies. But God's time was not then come; for albeit they did advance with their whole body, both of horse and foot; yet when they came to Lassington hill within a mile of the towne, it was faire day, whereby they having lost their time by their owne slownesse of march, they durst not come on, but instantly retreated to Newent, as appears by this letter which I received from Master Stanford, on the morrow after, being Friday.

The sixteenth of February, 1643.

Dear Robin, your messenger came so late, that we could not possibly effect the designe; yet our confidence of your best assistance made us attempt it; but it being day before wee could possibly come, wee must once againe desire the like readinesse from you on Saterday, or Sunday at the farthest, and then we shall not faile to be in a readinesse; it was ten of the clock before he came. I shall desire your answer either to day or to morrow at the farthest.

Yours, E. S.

The receipt of this letter made us beleieve that the enemy had then received no information that their designe was destroyed and made knowne, and so much the rather for that we kept the gates so close shut, the next day after being Friday, that we suffered no man to passe the ports upon any businesse whatsoever, which made us willing to see if wee could salve the businesse by another letter, and to give them incouragement to come on againe. Whereupon this letter was written, and sent the next day to Mr. Stanford with this note inclosed.

The Note.

Sir, take heed what you do, the allarum is taken by the intelligence of two country-men, who brought in word to the governour of your advance this way. The guards are strengthened, and much puzzle here is at present, whereof I wish you to take notice from

Your servant, R. B.

The Letter.

Sir, I am glad you came not the last night, I hope some good fate was in it, I was never so at my wit's end, and yet for my hanging durst make no shew of it. Whilst I was writing to you, and devising to send the messenger cleanly out at the gate, which I was faine to act in mine own person: the governour received information by two country-men that you were marching this way, and that some of your souldiers should give out, that the west-gate was to be opened to them by some very neare unto him. Whereupon there was an allarum, and one great gun drawne to the west-gate, and the guard there made strong; much muttering was who should be the man to let you in; some gave out that I was distrusted, others that it was some townesman. In the beginning of these buzzings I came to the governour, who told me of his intelligence, that you were marching for Gloucester, upon hopes of being let in. I saw how things were, and seeing a preparation for an allarum, the commanders all sent for, a new word instantly given, and a resolution speedily to be in arms; bethought my selfe on the sudden what to do to cleare my selfe of suspicion with the commanders; for as for the souldier's and people's tattle I regarded it not; thus therefore I declared my selfe, Gentlemen, you have received some intelligence (as it seemes) of the enemies advance this night, and here is muttering about the streets of some plot to let them in, and I am suspected to have some hand in it, how clearely, and without exception I have hitherto carried my self both towards you, and the businesse,

I appeale unto your selves to judge, and for the businesse, I came now to tell you, that I have received intelligence from a friend of mine in the country, that the enemy meanes certainly to be here this night, and therefore I advise you by all meanes to be in readinesse, and know this from me, that they have some promise from some citizens to have the gate opened, and to make the diversion from my self so much the more cleare, I told them of two men whom I much suspected, (and of whom I knew they had no good opinion) but advised them as to be carefull this night in their armes so to set some spies over these men's carriages, and as soone as an apparant charge could be proved against them, which I did not doubt would suddenly be, I would bring them to a counsell of warre, and in the mean time endeavour to search out the businesse, and perfect the charge against them. This so tooke with them, that they all gave applause to what I had said, desired me to take more speciall notice towards those two men: and the governour gave testimony (I having done him some personall office of acceptable service) of his belief of my fidelity, to which all the rest of the commanders assented also.

This being done, every man was repairing to his armes, wherein I was not backward my selfe to give command to the horse to be in readinesse, and to encourage the souldiers; but still at the governour's elbow. But I should have told you that as soone as I saw these things thus running, I instantly went home, and gave my man Ned this inclosed note, and I walked as far as Overs-bridge with him waiting on me, to hearken whether we could heare any noise, where (by my directions) he slipt from me, and though I could not get him to undertake to find you out (being so used the last time he came from you, as I wrote unto you) yet he lay in a ground beyond the Wynnyard till two of the clock waiting your comming, and afterward lay in a barne till morning. But I must confesse that I colected by your letter, that it would be impossible for you to come

from Newent in due time upon so short warning, which made my care especially after midnight a great deale the lesse. Yet I had resolved to have given you notice of the allarum being taken if I had discerned your advance, which I could have done my selfe (being tyed to speciall place of command) by riding into a privat back place, and discharging my pistoll for you to take notice of, and let that be your signe if I should be driven to a strait in time to come. Well, about twelve or one of the clocke we went all to bed, the guard at that gate a little stronger than ordinary, and all was quiet, and I am yet in like favour and esteeme as before, with officers by mine expressions, and with souldiers by giving them mony and ale: and for the meane citizen, let him mutter what he will it matters not. The great gun is drawne off the gate to the governour's doore, and another that was drawne that way, is drawne back to the maine guard. We had intelligence yesterday morning, about ten of the clock, that you were retreated to Newent, and setting a garrison there in quiet, and we are in our old security againe. The vote going still that there was some plot, and I being (as I said) set to find it out; for the more colourable effecting whereof also, I procured the gates to be strictly watcht yesterday by an officer at each gate, scarce suffering any to passe out, to see if wee could take the intercourser betweene you and the plotters, which course I would have also got continued for two or three dayes longer, were it not for the market to day, which will handsomely occasion the forbearance.

Sir, you write unto me for this night or Sunday, my opinion is cleare, that if you lye still at Newent, not giving us allarums till Sunday after dinner, and then advance your foot to be here by nine of the clock, being a time that people passe not so much with intelligence as in the week-dayes: and if you send but a troope of horse to Overs-bridge, in the very shutting of the evening, to prevent notice, you may do it (I'le be bold to say) as easie as may be;

but that must be your first work, if you think fit to send a trusty secret man, who is a souldier, or, but rationall to me, I shall shew him all the conveniences of the passages, the place where for you to draw up undiscovered, where to place your reserve to retreat unto, if occasion should be, where to find the word, and what hinderances and obsticles are possible to be in the way. If he come to day upon a sack of oates, as from Rudford, to me along with this bearer, I'll warrant his safe returne upon my life; consider well your time and houre, and let me know, and I'll not faile to do the utmost in the power of your servant (though a little scard.)

R. B.

TO THIS LETTER I RECEIVED THIS ANSWER FROM MASTER STANFORD, THE SEVENTEENTH OF FEBRUARY 1643.

Deare Robin, Sir William Vavasour hath this morning received a command to draw great part of his forces on the other side of the water, but he doubts not, but to return about the middle of the next week with a greater force, and hopes by that time you will prepare all things: in the interim he desireth you to hold correspondence with Sir John Winter, whom you may trust, who will be constantly at Lidney.

Yours E. S.

According to the contents of this letter, Sir William Vavasour did draw off the greatest part of his forces from Newent to meet our convoy comming from Warwicke, but for his purpose of returning, we beleevd not that, but rather to keep faire correspondence with me, that their mischievous and frivolous designe might not appeare unto the world to their disparagement. Yet it is observable, that Sir John Winter, a knowne papist, and who is reported to have laid downe his armes with other papists, is now

appointed to keep correspondence with me: thus would they make the world to think that Papists shal not beare armes for the king to maintain the Protestant religion, and yet they shall or will be acting something more mischievous, and destructive to the peace of the kingdome, than the fury of their personall armes can effect: I pray God deliver his sacred majesty from such assistance. But to conclude, wee not yet (by what wee received from them) certainly knowing whether they were yet sensible of their owne folly and shame.

THIS ONE LETTER MORE WAS SENT TO MASTER STANFORD,
FEBR. 22, OR IN HIS ABSENCE TO SIR JOHN WINTER.

Sir, according to your directions I have sent unto you againe, tendering mine own readinesse, really to do you service, but withall complaining of your infinite opennesse in the carriage of the businesse, it being in the mouths of most of all your souldiers, from whom it hath by sundry intelligencers been spread here amongst both town and country. I have heard such things as have made my eares glow, and had I not used all possible meanes to satisfie the officers of my fidelity to them, and that reports have rendered them various and uncertain, I had suffered ere now. Well, the strangest relations are but nine dayes' wonder. I shall suffer this to weare it selfe off, by suffering the relators and their hearers to rest uncertain, unsatisfied: and doubt not in due time to manifest unto you and the world, that my heart is right in despite of all crosse reports or jealousies; only thus much let me begge at your hands, if ever you meane to accomplish the designe of a surprisall, to be more private in your expressions, more politique in relating to your souldiers truly your own marches, more constant in your resolutions and prefixions, and more sudden in your actions. If the imparting of so great a secret into sundry hands be not dangerous;

if acquainting your common souldiers with the true end of your march be not too open; if sundry appointments, and failings of those times may not beget suspition of your agents; and whether surprisals ought not to be sudden and unlookt for, I leave to you to judge. Thus much by way of caution I thought fit to write, desiring you to consider of it: but know assuredly, that for mine own part, I shall be ready, when you shall appoint, to performe really what I have undertaken, and to manifest unto you that I am

Sir, your servant, R. B.

This letter written as a lure to draw them downe againe, was delivered to M. Stanford, who sent the messenger to Sir John Winter with it, giving himself no answer at all to it; Sir John Winter was at Bristol, but his lady wrote that answer should be sent by Sir John as soone as he came home, of which I have yet heard nothing, by which we clearely conceive the businesse to be deserted by them.

Now let the world judge whether these seducing enemies have not been fitly served in their own kind, as they like this, let them attempt to fasten their doctrine of *fallere fallentem* upon me again. No let the deformity of that doctrine, and the fruits thereof rest in the breasts of those that preach it, who deeme others like unto themselves. But let the world know, that neither hope of honour, which is but a puffe, nor hope of gain which is uncertain when attained, and sordid in such atchievement, nor the fawning of such friends who aime at their own ends, nor any other sinister unworthy end shall ever prevaile with me to undertake any ignoble action, much lesse any such action as this; as to perjure my selfe with God, having taken severall oathes, and protestations to the contrary; no the ransome of a soule is of higher value with me, to betray my religion, the most hopefull legacy I can leave to my posterity, to betray my country with the lawes, liberties, and priviledges thereof,

into the hands of arbitrary power or tyranny, and instead thereof to procure a never-dying curse from all succeeding generations in this kingdome to betray my trust, so great a trust committed unto me by so great and worthy personages as the patrons, and by God's blessing the preservers of three famous kingdomes, to deny mine owne hand which I solemnly subscribed, with other faithfull commanders in this garison, avowing unto the herauld sent by his sacred majesty, to maintaine our fidelities to the last drop of our bloods, to render my selfe unworthy of such unspeakable and wonderfull deliverance which I (amongst others) received in the late siege from the almighty hand of God, thereby rendring my self not only unfit for future mercies, but the most ingratefull wretch amongst men, to sell my selfe to worke so horrid wickednesse, to betray my selfe, my wife and family, my friends, kindred, and deare acquaintance, into the hands of blood-thirsty, cruell and unmercifull people, to make my selfe guilty not only of all the blood that must needs have been spilt in the forcing and sacking of so famous a city, but of mine own blood also: for their wisdome had beene more seene if they had killed me to have saved the two thousand pound they were engaged for, than either it, or their honesty, was in attempting to seduce me, to make me their instrument in so foule a plot, and to chronicle my name amongst the register of arch-traytors to all posterity; noe, my prayer, my heart, and hand shall ever be for the maintenance of so just a cause, wherein if I sacrifice my life and fortune, I doubt not of my reward with advantage. And let the great God of heaven, whose great worke is now in hand, prosper his true and faithfull servants, his instruments in the furthering thereof, but let his enemies perish, and be confounded in all such their treacherous designes, and let all those that wish well unto the state of this kingdome, be glad, and rejoyce with us at the benefit that hath accrewed unto the same by embracing of this businesse (of which we are here right sensible) and that for the reasons herein

before expressed, and upon which it was first thought fit to be accepted.

This is the whole truth.

The matter it selfe doth sufficiently vindicate mine integrity, who neither devised nor acted any part without consent and for the advantage of the publique service. And for the honour of the action on my part so much is unquestionable, that it were just upon them if they had all perished in the designe; they were condemned by their owne doctrine, and the law of like for like. But the question is whether the like deceit might be retorted upon them in this case by one who strives to maintaine the repute of sincerity; concerning which let wise men judge. First, I never passed my selfe over to them by any oath or protestation, which alone admits of no equivocation, and without which they could have no sufficient ground of trust; then whatsoever I promised was made good, but with a crosse intention, and to a contrary end, upon which grounds I see no reason why I might not feed them with vaine hopes, when all acknowledge that by the colour of an action I may lawfully deceive the enemy into a snare. So that I am confident, that I shall stand *rectus in curia*, and if not commended, yet at least acquitted in the court of honour. And whereas I have been traduced for a traytor as holding correspondence with the enemy, besides that satisfaction which this relation can give, I this declare my selfe, I am assured of the justice of the cause, religion, and liberty, I am assured of the extreame necessity, that puts the state upon this forcible meanes and wayes of resistance; I am assured of the lawfulnessse of the warre on our part, by the law of God, by the law of nature, and by the lawes of this kingdome. And such thoughts are the strongest assurance of fidelity if the secrets of the heart could be laid open. But because hypocrisie may be covered with a faire varnish, there being no sufficient ground of confidence in the consciences of men, or the

goodnesse of their natures. To give you a cleare testimony; although no man can tell to what center my thoughts incline, and move; yet all conclude, that according to the principles of nature, I must necessarily be true to my selfe, and worke out my own welfare, according to mine owne judgment and knowledge. And this judgment is so cleare against all conspiracies of this nature, that I shall never be wrought thereunto, except it were possible for me wittingly and willingly to contrive my owne destruction; for at the least such an enterprise represents it selfe full of difficulties; and every way perilous, and if I can accomplish it, I lose my selfe; for if I might hereby purchase a kingdome it will never get me honour. And I know it is the practise of the enemy to recompense the traytor with some titular reward, but no trust; besides this discovery hath put me into a condition beyond the possibility of a relapse. And had not my fidelity and fore-knowne constancy put me on, I might have reserved for my selfe a faire retreate in the time to come; but having engaged my selfe by a manifest declaration, I must now needs goe through or be quite ruined.

Robert Backhouse.

The Committee of the House of Commons for the garison of Gloster doe thinke fit that this booke be printed, 3 May, 1644.

THOMAS PURY,

FINIS.

T. WHITE, PRINTER, JOHNSON'S COURT,
FLEET STREET.

Washbourn, John

Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis

Bd.: 2

Gloucester 1823

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urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10225029-7